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THE DUK-DUKS

PRIMITIVE AND HISTORIC TYPES OF CITIZENSHIP

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THE DUK-DUKS

PRIMITIVE AND HISTORIC TYPES OF CITIZENSHIP

By ELIZABETH ANNE WEBER
of Hunter College

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This study of civic education is one of a series of similar analyses of a variety of states. Broadly speaking, the common purpose of these inquiries has been that of examining objectively the systems of civic education in a group of states, of determining the broad trends of civic training in these modern nations, and of indicating possibilities in the further development and control of civic education. In two of these cases, Italy and Russia, striking experiments are now being made in the organization of new types of civic loyalty. Germany, England, the United States, and France present instances of powerful modern states and the development of types of civic cohesion. Switzerland and Austria-Hungary are employed as examples of the difficulty experienced in reconciling a central political allegiance with divergent and conflicting racial and religious elements.

The series includes the following volumes:

Soviet Russia, by Professor Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions in the University of Chicago.

Great Britain, by Professor John M. Gaus, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

Austria-Hungary, by Professor Oscar Jaszi, formerly of Budapest University, now Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College.

The United States, by Professor Carl Brinkmann, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Heidelberg.

Italy, by Professor Herbert W. Schneider, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, and Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University.

Germany, by Mr. Paul Kosok, New York City.

Switzerland, by Professor Robert C. Brooks, Professor of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

France, by Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University. (This is a part of the Columbia University series of "Studies in Post-War France" and is included here because of its intimate relation to the other volumes in the series.)

Civic Attitudes in American Textbooks, by Dr. Bessie L. Pierce, Professor of History in the State University of Iowa.

The Duk-Duks, by Dr. Elizabeth Weber, Professor of Political Science, Hunter College, New York City.

Comparative Civic Education, by Professor Charles E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago.

Wide latitude has been given and taken by the individual collaborators in this study, with the understanding, however, (1) that as a minimum there would be included in each volume an examination of the social bases of political cohesion and (2) that the various mechanisms of civic education would be adequately discussed. There is inevitably a wide variation in point of view, method of approach, and in execution of the project as investigators differ widely in aptitude, experience, and environment.

Of the various investigators the questions may be asked: What part do the social groupings play in the spirit of the state? What is the attitude of the economic groups which for this purpose may be considered under certain large heads, as the attitude of the business element, of the agricultural group, or of labor? What is the relation of the racial groups toward the political group whose solidarity is in question? Do they tend to integrate or disintegrate the state? What is the position of the religious factors in the given society, the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jewish? How are they concerned in loyalty toward the political unit? What is the place of the regional groupings in the political unit? Do they develop special tendencies alone or in company with other

types of groupings already mentioned? What is the relation of these competing loyalties to each other?

It cannot be assumed that any of these groups have a special attraction or aversion toward government in general; and the analysis is not conducted with any view of establishing a uniformity of interest or attachment in any type of group, but rather of indicating the social composition of the existing political units and authorities. It may well be questioned whether there is any abstract loyalty, political or otherwise. These political loyalties are determined by concrete interests, modified by survivals that no longer fit the case and by aspirations not yet realized. The cohesion is a resultant of conflicting forces, or a balance of existing counterweights, a factor of the situation. All these factors may change and the balance may be the same, or one may change slightly and the whole balance may be overthrown. It is the integration of interests that counts, not the special form or character of any one of them.

Among the various approaches to civic education which it is hoped to analyze are the schools, the rôle of governmental services and officials, the place of the political parties, and the function of special patriotic organizations; or, from another point of view, the use of traditions in building up civic cohesion, the place of political symbolism, the relation of language, literature, and the press to civic education, the position occupied by locality in the construction of a political loyalty; and, finally, it is hoped that an effective analysis may be made of competing group loyalties rivaling the state either within or without.

In these groups there is much overlapping. It would be possible to apply any one or all of the last-named categories to any or all of the first. Thus the formal

school system may and does utilize language and literature, or symbolism, or love of locality, or make use of important traditions. Symbolism and traditions may and do overlap—in fact, *must* if they are to serve their purpose; while love of locality and language may be and are interwoven most intimately.

Intricate and difficult of comprehension as some of these patterns are, they lie at the basis of power; and control systems, however crude, must constantly be employed and invented to deal with these situations. The device may be as simple as an ancient symbol or as complicated as a formal system of school training, but in one form or other these mechanisms of cohesion are constantly maintained.

In the various states examined, these devices will be traced and compared. The result will by no means attain the dignity of exact measurement but will supply a rough tracing of outlines of types and patterns in different cities. It is hoped, however, that these outlines will be sufficiently clear to set forth some of the main situations arising in the process of political control and to raise important questions regarding the further development of civic education.

It may be suggested that the process by which political cohesion is produced must always be considered with reference to other loyalties toward other groups in the same society. Many of the devices here described are common to a number of competing groups and can be more clearly seen in their relation to each other, working in co-operation or competition, as the situation may be. The attitude of the ecclesiastical group or the economic group, or any of them, or the racial or cultural group, profoundly influences the nature and effect of the state's attempt to solidify political loyalty; and the picture is

complete only when all the concurrent or relevant factors are envisaged.

These devices are not always consciously employed although they are spoken of here as if they were. It often happens that these instrumentalities are used without the conscious plan of anyone in authority. In this sense it might be better to say that these techniques are found rather than willed. At any rate, they exist and are operating.

These eight or nine techniques are only rough schedules or classifications of broad types of cohesive influences. They are not presented as accurate analyses of the psychology of learning or teaching the cohesive process of political adherence. They presuppose an analysis of objectives which has not been made, and they presuppose an orderly study of the means of applying objectives; and this also has not been worked out in any of the states under consideration.

Dr. Weber's study approaches the problem of civic cohesion from a point of view widely different from that of the other collaborators in this series. She has undertaken to analyze the methods by which certain groups—primitive, classical, medieval—have provided for the civic and social education of their prospective members. She has given special attention to the formal methods of induction or initiation. Against the primitive background the various techniques for transmitting and impressing the group traditions and skills are seen with special distinctness, and the facts revealed throw important light upon the nature of our contemporary political processes. Likewise, the notable emphasis upon civic initiation among the Greeks, the Romans, and the medievals is full of interest for the student of government.

The title of this volume, *The Duk-Duks,* is taken

from the fact that in this particular tribe the ceremonies and mysteries of initiation are highly developed professionally and show clearly in their naïveté civic situations offered almost identical but far less obvious.

Dr. Weber is not a specialist in anthropology, nor in classical or medieval history; but in searching for the facts in these particular fields, she has had the co-operation of authorities in these domains of learning and has endeavored to piece together patterns and types of political processes often ignored by the more orthodox political scientists. The data developed tend to illuminate the process of civic cohesion and the forms of education and preparation for participation in political life.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

INTRODUCTION

The process of inducting into citizenship is that of molding young people or aliens to native adult standards of conformity to the citizenship ideal of the community. The molding processes may proceed through gradual transitions as the neophyte almost imperceptibly acquires the myths, ceremonies, purposes, and deportment appropriate to the mature. Or there may be a sharp transition between the pre-adult status and the status of one qualified to enjoy the rights and assume the obligations of an active participant in communal polity.

Where the transitions are accentuated, the youth undergoes an intensive period of learning and testing, and he knows that the future esteem of his fellows largely depends upon his successful completion of the required tasks. The procedures which are adopted by the community under these circumstances are what is meant by the term initiation.

The Western European states make practically no use of the initiation as a method of inducting their youth into political manhood. Naturalization tests and ceremonies which are designed to include or exclude alien adults are practically the only exceptions. There is much initiating into private associations, and examinations are set up by the state itself to select those competent to perform special tasks. But an initiation embracing all who aspire to assume an active rôle in the state is missing.

The legitimate curiosity of the systematic student of government is aroused by any possibly significant difference in the political practices of various civilizations.

That the initiation was a cardinal feature of the induction of the Athenian youth into citizenship has long been known. That initiations of great severity prevail in certain of those civilizations which we are accustomed to call primitive has occasionally been rumored among the writers on government. But for the most part these facts have lain in the half-mist of partial understanding, either ignored altogether, or flagrantly perverted by lighthearted generalizers. The writer has begun their cautious and comprehensive study, and certain preliminary results are rendered easy of access in this volume.

The student of government approaches the study of induction into citizenship with several leading questions. He would like to know whether the method of gradual or of abrupt transition gives the best results under comparable conditions, as measured by devotion to the citizenship ideal of the communities investigated. To pose such a question may be to ask the unanswerable. We may comb the records of man past and present without finding two essentially similar civilizations, save for the process of induction, which have been subjected to dispersive influences of precisely the same magnitude.

Even though the relative efficiency of initiation versus non-initiation can be appraised with the greatest difficulty, something may be achieved by contrasting the effects of various types of initiation. Classified according to the severity of the demands imposed upon the neophyte, marginal types appear whose requirements are very light or very rigorous. So far, however, there are unsurmounted obstacles to the comparison of the terrific Mandan ordeal with the rôle of Athenian ceremonies.

Considerations of efficiency aside, the student of government still has questions to ask. He would like to un-

derstand how a particular pattern of induction rather than another happened to arise and stay in various types of culture. This problem cannot be put in specific terms until known civilizations are classified into initiating and borrowing cultures in respect of the trait under consideration. Severe initiations among primitive peoples show a high concentration in the plains area of North America and in Australia. Is it possible to decide which tribe used the severe initiation first? Is there any evidence that the plains borrowed the fundamental pattern from Australia by way of the Asiatic-Alaskan route, or by any other? Was there anything in the culture of these communities prior to the invention or assimilation of the trait which explains how it happened to arise or secure adoption? And what of Athenian initiation? Was it a special invention of Athenian culture or was it borrowed outright from without? Was it perchance a parallel or a convergent development from an underlying proto-culture? Why did not this Athenian type of initiation spread throughout the Roman Empire and Western Europe?

Once the data is assembled for initiations into the community, comparisons will be possible with restricted types of initiation. Is the tribal variety but an extension of tests which were originally developed for chiefs and medicine men? Or is the specialized form patterned after a tribal model? Does the answer vary from one culture to another? What dynamic factors explain ascertained differences? Is it a general rule that specialized initiations survive in a culture of growing complexity while universal initiations drop out, as would seem to be indicated by the prevalence of the former and the paucity of the latter in modern European states? And what, in

general, are the most effective individual features of initiation ceremonies?

Such questions are part of the stock in trade of the cultural anthropologist, and if they are to be disposed of at all, they must be handled by one who is competent to deal with both anthropological and historical data.

The scope of the investigation which is reported in this monograph is necessarily somewhat restricted. The initial stages of an attack upon a complex problem often involve little more than the conscientious description of a body of entities to be compared and contrasted. The very act of placing several facts in critical juxtaposition serves to reveal a host of unexpected connections and disparities which become the point of departure for new excursions after data.

The writer has chosen some of the examples of primitive initiation from among the aborigines of the great plains area of North America and from Australia. Since Greek and Roman civilization looms so large in the background of our own life, and has been the object of such patient research by so large a band of scholars, we have assembled the relevant material from Greece and Rome.

The society of the Middle Ages was organized on a model which is difficult to fit into modern classifications. Is the initiation of the knight, strictly speaking, an instance of induction into citizenship, or does it represent a more specialized type? However, the answer may be given, it is unquestionably an interesting case.

PREFATORY NOTE

This book presents an effort on the part of a student of politics to penetrate beyond the formal confines of her own sphere and through a study in related fields of the social sciences to point the way to some fruitful inquiries, as yet untouched, which seem to have a direct bearing on the political behaviorism of present cultures.

The induction of the young person into adult membership in the body politic is of the greatest significance and importance to the political scientist, and yet relatively little attention has been paid to this important step. At no point in the life of the group does the inculcation of those emotional predispositions which we call "patriotism" become more conscious and deliberate a process. In simpler cultures, conscious training for worthy citizenship culminated often in the formal admission of the novice into the body politic. Perhaps no ceremonies are more prevalent today in restricted groupings than induction rites, but this practice is conspicuously absent from the public life of nations in our day. Why, if induction ceremonialism was effective in former times and other civilizations, is it no longer recognized as one of the chief instruments for perpetuating national traditions and mores? What survivals of primitive culture are discoverable in modern civic methods for producing patriotism?

The writer does not aim to present some novel theory with which to startle the cultural anthropologist or provoke him to controversy; there is no desire to challenge the historian, nor to quarrel with the social psychologist as to the most effective approach in the matter of ceremonialism. Each chapter seeks, rather, to present a gen-

eralized picture of material known to the specialists in the various fields and applied in the light of the problem in hand. This study is an effort on the periphery of the social sciences, that zone where sociology, anthropology, religion, psychology, history, and political science meet and combine to give a more complete understanding of the origin and development of man's customs and patterns of thought.

ELIZABETH A. WEBER

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CHAPTER I

PRIMITIVE INDUCTION CEREMONIES

Social organization deals with the customs and institutions by which society regulates the conduct of its members one to another. These customs and institutions naturally vary widely, not only as between different levels of civilization, but also within the same culture-level, and we are, therefore, prepared to find a wide divergence within the social organization of primitive groups. That there are points of similarity is equally evident, but perhaps the most universal fact in primitive society is the widespread use of ceremony. The ceremonial expression of any sentiment serves a double purpose: it maintains that sentiment at the requisite degree of intensity in the mind of the individual, and transmits it to posterity from age to age.

Birth, puberty, marriage, death, the four great crises in the life of man, are singled out for ceremonial observance by primitive peoples; at these points, ceremonial dancing, adornment, weeping are significant factors. Ceremonial weeping is not confined to occasions of sorrow, but is featured during the initiation and marriage ceremonies, all occasions of rejoicing. Thus the mother weeps because she loses her child when he has passed through the initiation ceremonies and has become a man; she weeps when she loses her son at his marriage; she weeps with her daughter when puberty sets in. Whenever the primitive lacks clothing to set him apart from others and express his individuality, he resorts to painting, ornamentation, and scarifications. These are rites

by which the value of the individual to society is expressed on appropriate occasions.[1]

Dancing occupies an important position in primitive ceremonial, usually having some symbolic significance; it is either social or magico-religious in nature. It is of the first kind most often in connection with ceremonies of birth, initiation into tribal life, marriage, initiation and periodic ceremonies of the secret societies, and war. It has a magico-religious significance when connected with worship of spirits and the initiation into the priesthood, with the control of the food supply, the exorcism of demons in cases of illness, and with death.[2] From this it becomes evident that dancing has particular functions in primitive social life which have fallen into disuse in modern society.

Dancing, in induction ceremonies, has many functions and the dances are usually of an exhausting type. Some of the ends sought are to tire and fatigue the body of the novice before the final tests of bravery and endurance, such as those of circumcision and cliterodectomy; to produce frenzy in the group of spectators; to perpetuate some tradition, as in the dance portraying the origin of a clan-totem; to advertise the charms of the sexes to each other, since, in many cases, marriage follows the completion of the ceremonial cycle. Thus we hear that among the Melanesians and Polynesians "exhausting dances play an important part in the many systems of physical training leading to tribal initiations, and no doubt the boys feel some incentive to effort on account of

[1] A very useful study is that of W. P. Hambly, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples.*

[2] Wilfred D. Hambly, *Tribal Dancing and Social Development* (London, 1926), p. 16.

the fact that it is in these dances that a girl falls in love and decides which boy she will select as her husband."[3]

The dance forms an important part of the puberty ceremonials even among the pastoral tribes of the British Uganda Protectorate, where obesity in women is the ideal of beauty. Roscoe makes the following statement:

> In their dances, these fat women remain seated and go through a performance which consists of waving their hands and arms gracefully and swaying their bodies to and fro, making meanwhile a buzzing sound with their lips to the rhythm of which the men caper and jump about, full of admiration for the women, who are too fat to stand.[4]

Induction ceremonies, both for boys and girls, are a characteristic feature of primitive life. These undoubtedly spring in part from the feeling that life is surrounded by unknown and incalculable, mysterious forces which exercise a dominance over man and must be propitiated and made harmless; partly also from the desire to give the adolescent the necessary training and instruction to fit him to cope with the particular problems and difficulties of life. Indeed, there are many tribes in which the only systematic instruction given is at the time of final preparation for inception into the tribe. Some primitive tribes initiate the boy formally, but not the girl; others celebrate the induction of the girl ceremonially but not that of the boy. This fact has been noted by both Lowie and Sapir among certain Indian tribes on the North American continent. Lowie asserts that the very region of the globe where adolescent ceremonies for males are remarkable for their rarity, is conspicuous for girls' puberty festivals, or at least for a definite procedure at the time of the first menses. This he noted par-

[3] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 59.

[4] John Roscoe, *The Soul of Central Africa*, p. 65.

ticularly among the Apaches, the Dakotas, and the Shasta Indians.[5] Thus also Sapir observes concerning the Nootkas: "Among the Nootkas, as among many Indian tribes of western North America, it is the arriving at maturity of girls rather than boys that is signalized by a definite ceremony and by the observance on the part of the girl of various chiefly restrictive measures or taboos."[6]

The word initiation has a twofold meaning; in a general sense it applies, as its derivation suggests, to a beginning, an entrance into some specific activity or organization; in this sense it involves instruction, training. In a special sense, it may denote specified ceremonies attendant upon the formal admission of an individual into the body politic, a process of induction into the religious, social, and political life of the group. Much of primitive ceremonialism is tinged with religious feeling, and this is due to the general lack of differentiation of mental activities in primitive life: religion, science, music, poetry, dance, myth, history, fashions, and ethics are all inextricably interwoven. Primitive man views each action not only as adapted to its main end, but he associates it with other ideas often of a religious or at least of a symbolic nature.[7] Thus, almost any belief or custom can and has at times, become associated with religious feeling, particularly because religion is regarded as one of the distinctive means of maintaining life-values.[8]

[5] Robert Lowie, *Primitive Society,* p. 319.

[6] E. Sapir, "A Girl's Puberty Ceremony among the Nootka Indians," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (Third Series), VII, Sec. II, 67.

[7] Franz Boas, "Some Traits of Primitive Culture," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XVII, 243.

[8] Paul Radin, "The Religion of the North American Indian," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXVII, 337.

The most important and certainly among the most interesting ceremonies are those which mark the transfer of the youth at puberty or thereabouts, from the ranks of childhood to manhood. The celebration of these ceremonies constitutes the most solemn and significant epoch in the life of the boy and girl. Wherever these ceremonies prevail, admission into the ranks of the mature depends upon the observance of certain specified acts on the part of the novice, by virtue of which he receives a new standing in his relation to the other members of the community and becomes impressed with the significance of the step whereby he enters active membership in the group with a set of new privileges and new responsibilities.

It must be remembered, however, that the induction process is not necessarily marked by formal ceremonialism; there may be formal group initiation ceremonies, as in the case of the Australian Bushmen, but there are many tribes, notably among the American Indians, where the induction is individual and informal, in the nature of a personal experience and unmarked by the formal public ceremony. In other words, there are two ways in which the gap between adolescence and maturity may be bridged: society can, through initiation ceremonies of a formal and public nature, impress the worthwhile things of the group upon the individual, or it can cause the gradual growth of the ideals and traditions of the group in the mind of the youth from earliest childhood, so that as a result of these, he will have certain experiences, culminating in what we might call patriotic sentiment, which will fit him to become a member of that society without a formal initiation ceremony. It is undoubtedly true that the most important and effective training for citizenship is that which takes place at the

family fireside, where the boy or girl stores up a wealth of tribal traditions and legends in the formative years, causing him to become well grounded in the traditions of his race, to value the worthwhile things and to desire to assist in perpetuating these. The Thompson Indians of British Columbia have no formal initiation ceremonies, but the boy (or girl) at puberty repairs to the wilderness and there engages in that type of activity in which he expects to function as an adult. The search for the Guardian Spirit is a distinctive ceremony, as will become evident shortly, but the rites that are performed in connection with it are personal.

A. W. Howitt, the English anthropologist, in evaluating the function of these ceremonies brings out the fact that one of the main ends to be achieved is an emphasis upon the importance to the community of the individual's interest in tribal affairs and of his fitness to occupy a place of responsibility. He says: "I doubt if there is any rule of conduct under which the novice is placed (among the Australian tribes of the Southeast) which is not directly intended to some end beneficial to the community."[9] "It is impossible," asserts Professor Webster, "to exaggerate the importance of these ceremonies as providing the social bonds based on the ideas of kinship and brotherhood in societies without a centralized political control, promoting solidarity in a tribal organization consisting only of the initiated men."[10]

The formal initiation ceremonies have a salutary effect upon the group as well as upon the novice, for it is at this time that the entire tribe comes together, that differences are adjusted, ideas exchanged, and all infused with a new sense of unity of purpose, of tradition, of

[9] A. W. Howitt, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XIV, 321.

[10] Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, p. 27.

race, of aspirations. It serves as the vehicle for the transmission of traditions from generation to generation. Often the traditions of the group are represented in pantomime and dance, often tribal morality is thus forcefully represented. Our pageants of today are the survivals of this picturization of an important event or of a special moral. Almost universally, initiation rites include mimic representations of death and resurrection. This is found in Australia and among many of the tribes of North American Indians. Thus among the Unmatjera tribe of North-central Australia, the women and children believe that in some way, Twanyirika kills the novice and later brings him to life again during the initiation.[11] The new life is to be forgetful of the old and a new name is often given to the novice, among girls as well as boys, to indicate change of status and complete separation from the past.

Before proceeding to an analysis of certain definite types of induction ceremonialism, it will be necessary to make a statement concerning certain basic facts underlying primitive social organization. The first of these observations is that in primitive society there is a strong tendency for those of the same age and sex to group themselves together on the basis of these distinctions. Age-groups among both men and women are particularly prominent. The membership of a tribe is usually divided into four groups, which among the men are as follows: (1) boys below puberty; (2) unmarried youths; (3) the married men, on whom the duties of active tribal membership fall; (4) old men, who are the repositories of tribal wisdom, authority, and tradition. Boys below the puberty age live at home with their parents but unmarried youths who have been initiated live in the bache-

[11] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 343.

lor-houses together, away from the influences of their mothers and apron-strings. The age-classes among the women are like those of the men, but the girls who have passed the puberty ceremonies continue to live with their parents until their marriage, as a rule.

Two other facts in primitive organization require an explanation: these are totemism and exogamy. These are two outstanding institutions of primitive society, and, although totemism has been proved to be not nearly as prevalent an institution among primitive tribes as was at first supposed, the totemic ideas and rites are often interwoven in the social system of a primitive people. A totem is defined by Frazer to be "a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between himself and every member of that class an intimate and altogether special relation.[12] The totem bears a religio-social significance in the life of primitive man. The relation between the man and his totem might be viewed in the light of a contract whereby the totem grants protection to the man, and the man refrains from killing or eating the particular species of animal or plant which is his totem, although this relationship can not be said to exist without exceptions. Totemism is, according to Goldenweiser, first of all a relationship between religious phenomena on the one hand, and social phenomena on the other, and from the dynamic relation of the religious to the social, he develops the definition that "totemism is the process of specific socialization of objects and symbols of emotional value."[13]

The members of a clan believe themselves to be de-

[12] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy,* I, 1.

[13] Alexander Goldenweiser, "Totemism, an Analytical Study," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXIII, 274–75.

scended from a common totemic ancestor, although this belief is far from universal and has in a great many instances been rationalized away; this is true in some parts of Australia.[14] Whether the clan believes itself descended from the totem or not, is not so important a consideration from our standpoint, as the fact that the totem constitutes the backbone of primitive society, making organizations into social units a possibility and differentiating those units from one another. The organization of which the totem is the common protector may be one of several. Some tribes are divided into clans, others into gentes, depending upon whether descent is through the mother or the father, and where the clans and gentes do not prevail, the phratries or moieties constitute the political unit. The tribes of Australia have a further division into classes and subclasses, which however, are found nowhere else.[15] The part played by the clan and gentile system in the civilization of the group varies greatly. For instance, on the northwest coast of North America, among the Haida and the Tlingit, the clan system enters largely into the civilization of the group. Among the Iroquois, which from the political standpoint is an illustration of the federative principle and is the best perfected political organization among primitive tribes, the clans are the instrument for carrying out the socio-political functions of the League. Among the Zuñi, on the other hand, the clan amounts to little more than a method of counting descent, while in Australia the clans and gentes are (of the central area especially), purely ceremonial in function.[16]

The other significant feature of the clan and gentile

[14] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia,* pp. 151–55.

[15] Alexander Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization,* chap. xii.

[16] *Ibid.*

system is exogamy. The practice of exogamy is related to totemism in that the group who are knit together by a particular totem believe themselves of one blood and, therefore, refuse to sanction marriage of the members of the group with each other. This prohibition to marry within the group is called exogamy and has a direct bearing upon the practices and customs of the people. It functions in the puberty ceremonies of initiation to a considerable extent in that the exogamous group never initiates its own young people; this is done by the opposite group. Since race propagation is one of the most important functions in primitive society, any customs that would tend to control this process would naturally assume a place of importance in the life of the community. Hence exogamy, in that it restricts promiscuous intercourse of a kind, and totemism, in that it serves to differentiate not only clans but moieties from one another, constitute the two chief factors in a consideration of the social mores of primitive peoples. Exogamy lays down the rule for marriage and totemism gives the exogamous unit a name.

In the initiation ceremonies considered below, several classifications are possible: (*a*) formalistic as against personal ceremonies, and (*b*) tribal initiations as against those of non-inclusive groups. The first classification distinguishes between ceremonies for which a definite date has been set, and in which the membership of the group formally participates, either directly in playing a definite rôle in the induction ceremonies, or indirectly by their presence, and that type of ceremonies which is not witnessed by the group but which is performed by the novice alone and is personal to him. In the second classification, it is rather a question as to whether the initiation of the adolescent is coextensive with the group member-

ship or whether there exist within it smaller social units with a non-inclusive membership, which performs the initiation ceremonialism. In the first case of this classification we have a case of tribal initiation which demands the initiation of every youth as a necessary prerequisite to the full participation in tribal activities. The second case is that of the secret society in which membership is not coextensive with the tribal unit, and which, therefore, is a non-inclusive group, but it is safe to say of both that the unit controlling the initiation process is the one that directly affects the social and political organization of the group.

The initiation of boys into tribal life has been classified by W. D. Hambly thus:[17]

1. Purification by emetics, sweating, bathing, scrubbing with sand, and the making of cutaneous incisions.

2. Circumcision, incision, and subincision.

3. Physical suffering caused by a great variety of tests of endurance such as extreme fatigue in the chase, tottooing, cicatrizing, heating, cooling, knocking out teeth, immobility for long periods, and whipping.

4. Moral instruction, including tribal usages, relating to obedience, courage, truth, hospitality, sexual relationships, reticence, and perseverance.

5. Transfer of power from elders to novices by the latter going through the motions of hauling on a rope, blood transfers, rubbing with crystals, or blowing.

6. Isolation accompanied by taboo of silence, disguise by paint and dress, reception of a new name, and rebirth into the social group with many formalities.

7. Training in magic of the so-called sympathetic variety whereby love is requited or an enemy injured.

[17] *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples; A Comparative Study in Racial Development* (London, 1926), p. 128. Dr. Hambly is now on the staff of the Field Museum, Chicago.

The classification used in this study is primarily of the first previously described. The type of initiation ceremonialism in which the formalistic ritualism and group participation predominates is represented by the ceremonies prevailing among the native tribes of Australia, the Duk-Duk society of New Pomerania and among the Kwakiutl Indians of the northwest coast of North America. The type of ceremony, where the ritual is personal and private and performed by each novice separately, is that represented and performed by the acquisition of the Guardian Spirit or Manitou as it exists among some of the Indian tribes of North America, notably among the Crow Indians, and the Thompson Indians of British Columbia.

It will be found that the second classification crosses and recrosses the lines of the first. In other words, the two are not mutually exclusive. Thus the Australian initiations to be considered are tribal, so are those of the manitou acquisition among the tribes of North American Indians. On the other hand, the Duk-Duk society is a secret society which is practically coextensive with the tribal group,[19] but the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians are non-inclusive groups.

THE AUSTRALIAN CEREMONIES

It has been found that where puberty institutions still retain their primitive vigor, as among the Australian and New Guinea tribes, the original clan ceremonies underlie the existing tribal rites. These ceremonies can be said to recognize the clan in that the message of the

[19] George Brown in his study on the *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 69, states that there are few adult males who are not members of the Duk-Duk, that the uninitiated are laughed at and spoken of as "women," and since the native dreads sarcasm more than spears, all but a very few are members of the society.

approaching ceremonies is carried by the representative of the head of one totem to the principal men of the other totems; the moiety from which the boy chooses his wife is the one that performs the ceremony; the novice's guardians during the ceremonies are of the opposite moiety; the two tribal moieties take turns in performing their dances, songs, and dramatic representation of the myth depicting the circumstances under which the ancestors acquired the totem.

The initiation ceremonies prevalent among the tribes of Southeastern Australia as recorded by Howitt, and those of the tribes of Central Australia as recorded by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen form the basis of the present study of the Australian ceremonialism. In the first group, the most important are the Kuringal of the Yuin and other tribes of the southern coast of New South Wales, the Burbong of the Wiradjuri tribe in the western part of New South Wales, the Bora of the Kamilroi, the Dora ceremonies of the southeastern part of Queensland, and the Jeraeil of the Kurnai of Gippsland. The ceremonies typical of the western division, covered by Howitt are the Dieri ceremonies, but those of the Parnkalla and Narrinyeri have also been studied. Of the tribes of Central and Northern Australia, the Arunta, the Unmatyera, and the Warramunga tribes must be mentioned.[20] The motive generally underlying the Australian initiation ceremonies is the need felt by the community that before the novice is permitted to take his place in the community, marry, and join in its councils, he must possess those qualities which will enable him to act for the common welfare.[21] Generally speaking, differ-

[20] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia,* chaps. ix, x; Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia,* chap. xi.

[21] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeast Australia,* p. 639.

ences to be noted among the tribes are not those of aim and purpose. There are principles that are common to all, but the differences in ceremony are largely those of method, or the manner in which the underlying principle or purpose is carried out.

The community which meets periodically for the purpose of initiating its youths into the status of manhood and membership in the tribe, consists of the united exogamous class divisions. A class cannot initiate members of its own tribe, but one class initiates the youths of another. In cases where class divisions no longer exist, the local organization composed of its initiated men conducts the initiation ceremonies. The Kurnai and the Chepara tribes are of the latter class. In all but exceptional cases, initiation ceremonies of some kind, having invariably certain fundamental principles in common are practiced by the native tribes all over Australia. There are two distinct types, one extending over most of the eastern part of Australia, of which the Kuringal ceremonies is a good example; the other extending over most of the western part of the continent, in which the custom of circumcision and of circumcision together with subincision is practiced.[22]

When the council of old men has decided that there are enough boys to be "made men," the headman of the locality in that geographic moiety of the tribe summons the assembly for initiation by message to a headman of the other geographic moiety. Usually the messenger belongs to the same totem and to the same local group but not necessarily so. In these initiation ceremonies we have a good example of that formal group initiation in which the period of training and instruction takes place during the period of the ceremonies. The message trav-

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 512 ff.

els from clan to clan until all the initiated men become aware that an initiation is to be held.

The age at which the boy may be initiated is somewhat variable; it is sometimes gauged by the breaking of the voice, by the growth of the beard, i.e., at puberty. It must, however, be noted at the outset that the age at which puberty is reached varies greatly and that these variations in age occur not only in different races but in individuals of the same race. They are due to many causes, to differences of climate, diet, clothing, occupation, temperament, modes of living, or in conditions of health, so that it cannot be said that a boy is initiated when he is so and so many years old.[23]

During the entire ceremonial cycle the novice has guardians to instruct him. In the Kuringal[24] and the Jeraeil[25] ceremonies there are two guardians for each novice, but some tribes use only one guardian for this purpose. The guardians explain to the boy the meaning of everything that is done in the ceremonies, they admonish him, direct his actions, see that he renders implicit obedience in every detail, and help him over difficult situations. Generally speaking, the ceremonial cycle may be divided into four stages as it relates to the novice, according to the purpose of each step. The first stage is the act of "separation," whereby the boy is completely cut off from his past, not only as far as his habits and diversions are concerned, but also in relation to his mother and to the other women and children of the tribe. In some tribes

[23] Van Gennep quotes a study made in Tokyo which shows the variability in the age at which puberty is reached. In the case of 584 women, puberty began as follows: 2 at 11 years of age, 2 at 12, 26 at 13, 78 at 14, 224 at 15, 228 at 16, 68 at 17, 44 at 18, 10 at 19, 2 at 20. A. Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage,* p. 95. From a study by Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde,* I, 432.

[24] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia,* p. 525.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 627.

the separation of the boy from his mother is made a public act, usually at the end of the ceremony, when the mother adorns herself with the badge of mourning, indicating the loss of her son. The mimic representation of death and resurrection which is so prevalent in initiation ceremonies in primitive life, not only among the Australian tribes but among the North American Indians as well, is a further indication of the emphasis placed upon the irrevocability of the separation act. Henceforth the boy is to associate with men. He lives in the men's houses after his probation and until his marriage, and he is to have nothing whatever to do with women or children: he must completely put away childish things. The second stage in the ceremonial cycle is the period of "instruction and training" in the elements of daily living, putting the novice into the proper relationship with the other units of the community; impressing upon him the importance of the tribal moral code, teaching him the tribal legends and the tribal laws, instilling into the novice a fear and awe of the wisdom and power of the old men of the tribe, to whom implicit obedience is due at all times.[26] This instruction is given in two ways: by word of mouth on the part of the boy's guardian and through pantomimic and dramatic presentations. Thus tribal morality is often illustrated in such a manner as to cause the greatest aversion in the novice to breaking the moral laws of the tribe; again, the dramatic presentations are used for the purpose of enforcing the teachings of the guardians and to depict certain important events in the life of the tribe. Thus in the Kuringal, there is a dance of the medicine men showing that the source of all power comes from Daramulun, the Supreme Being, who gave the tribe all the implements and weapons they use; there are dances which bring out the significance of the

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

clan-totems and tribal traditions. These ceremonies are held in the evening, clan and tribal songs are sung, and at this point there is a decided appeal to tribal loyalty or what we would call patriotism. It has a unifying effect upon the group as well, furnishing that emotional appeal which produces a sense of one-mindedness and solidarity within the group and makes an indelible impression upon the novice, who is being awed and inspired by all these strange performances which he is seeing for the first time. All this makes an indelible impression upon the heart and mind of the boy who is in the most impressionable and plastic years of his life.[27]

These primitives are good psychologists; they use the most impressive time of day to obtain the most effective settings for what they wish to accomplish. At sundown the old headman in an impressive manner tells the novice the old ancestral beliefs, legends of their origin, etc. Thus the formality of the occasion, the dignity that age and authority bring, the presence of a multitude, and the impressive natural setting make an appeal of great force.

After the revelation of the tribal beliefs by the headman in the Jeraeil ceremony, the novices go with their guardians to hunt animals and are taught about food taboos. In camp they are taught new duties and the principles of conduct which are to guide them in the future. The most important of these are: to listen to and obey the old men, that is, a respect for constituted authority and for the law; to share everything they have with their friends and to protect the needy, that is, a spirit of com-

[27] The Kurnai Jeraeil is similar to the Coast Murring Kuringal. There is a period of constant and intensive instruction and training during which the novice is never left alone. He is taught and drilled in the most minute details of behavior, even as the manner of his sitting in camp. In the third stage of the Jeraeil initiation, the revelation of tribal beliefs takes place. A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia*, p. 627.

munity co-operation; to live peaceably; not to interfere with women and girls, that is, to observe the rules of morality and propriety; to obey the food restrictions until released from them, that is, to exercise the necessary self-restraint in refraining from doing those things which are contrary to the spirit of the law as well as to the letter of it.

The instruction given the novices differs in different cases in nature and scope. Among the natives of the Papuan Gulf a great emphasis is placed upon the duty of the novice toward the community. He is taught the seasons that are closed against certain kinds of fish, times when certain kinds of food and fruit are to be reserved for coming feasts, and many other things which have a direct bearing upon the welfare of the community. Therefore, when the novices leave the men's houses, they are quite qualified to look after their own property and to care for the best interests of the tribe. It is during their stay at the men's houses, to which they are taken at the age of ten, that they receive such information as is best calculated to equip them for all the duties and obligations of worthy members of the tribe.[28]

The third stage in the initiation process consists of a series of "tests" through which the novice must pass. The purpose of these is to bring out and emphasize those capacities and traits which are considered essential to an active member of the community. These, then, reflect the ideals and the life of the community. These tests are scattered throughout the ceremonies and do not take place at any one time. The novice in the Duk-Duk society is made to build a house and to procure food. Then he is examined in his bodily exercises and in his profi-

[28] J. Holmes, "Initiation Ceremonies of the Natives of the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XXXII, 422.

ciency in the arts of his new life. When the candidate can pass a satisfactory examination in the secrets of the sea and forest, he is made acquainted with the history of the race and the list of his hereditary friends and foes.[29]

The self-control of the novice is tested in various ways. In the Kuringal ceremonies certain tests of endurance and self-control are connected with the ceremonies that lead to the tooth-knocking. For instance, the novice is required to keep his eyes upon the ground and on no account to raise them, whatever he may hear or feel. Noises which he has never heard before are then made to terrify him, but he must show an absolute indifference to what is going on. Ridiculous antics are performed before him, but he must on no account smile. Again, a fire is built at from ten to twelve paces from the position of the novice, and from which spot he must not move, no matter how much smoke the wind blows upon him nor how hot the fire is, until his guardian moves him. This ordeal may last ten, twelve, or even more minutes, at the will of the old men.[30] Another lesson in self-control is given in the tooth-knocking ceremony during which the boy is blindfolded and startled by unearthly noises which he has never before heard. The ceremony also tests the boy's power of endurance, since the tooth is knocked out by a wooden cudgel and is a very painful process. While the operation is in progress, with his legs in two holes dug in the ground for the purpose, held firmly by men and unable to see what is happening, the novice must give no sign of a consciousness of pain or of what is being done to him, hearing all the while the weird swish of the bull-roarer and the cries of the dancing men about him. The tooth-knocking ceremony is one of the

[29] Churchill, *Popular Science Monthly* (1890), XXXVIII, 240.

[30] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia*, p. 526.

most important of the cycle, because the tooth passes as a visible indication of the attainment of manhood by the youth. Another indication of the new status of the young man is seen in the scarification which prevails among some tribes. For instance among the Dieri the novice at one stage of the initiation ceremonies receives from three to twelve gashes on the back, beginning at the nape of the neck, and this is an indication not only that he has been initiated into the state of manhood, but signifies also that he has passed through that stage in the ceremonies known as the Wilyaru in which the novice is covered from head to foot with blood from the arms of several of the old men. This is to accustom the young man to the sight of blood and to infuse courage into him.[31] The same custom prevails among the Parnkalla tribe in the region of the Lake Eyre ceremonies. Still another indication of the new status of the youth is found in the custom of giving a new name to the novice by which he is to be known henceforth. Thus the youth receives a new name after circumcision among the Dieri and the same thing is true among the Parnkalla and other kindred tribes of the western type. Many of the tribes of the eastern division also give new names to the novices by which they are henceforth known, the Yuin tribe being an exception to the rule, since although they do give the novice his totem name, this is never used, instead of which the personal name is used. This is directly the contrary to the custom among other tribes of this region of Australia, among which the totem name is used and the personal name kept strictly a secret.[32] One of the most prevalent of all customs to indicate the new status is the change in garb of the novice. Henceforth the youth

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 659.

[32] W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 229.

wears the apparel of a man. Thus in the Kuringal the novice receives a man's belt at the end of the ceremonies[33] and among the Parnkalla he is provided with a man's girdle.[34]

After the instruction and testing are over and the youth has proved himself possessed of the qualities necessary to men, he is theoretically a man, but there is still one more step before he can assume a position of responsibility in the tribe. He must pass through the fourth stage of the initiation cycle, namely a period of "probation," which is variable in length, depending upon the ability of the novice to convince the old men of the tribe of his fitness in practical matters to become an active member of society. In the Bush the youths find further tests, this time of self-restraint, resourcefulness, and courage. It is the period in which they must give proof to the community that with the scantiest implements and under food restrictions, although surrounded by plenty, they can still obey the commands, maintain the necessary self-restraint to keep from eating the taboo foods, and yet maintain an independent existence for as long a period as the old men see fit. It is the period when they learn the lessons of practical life. When the old men decide that the youth has shown the qualities of a good tribesman, they permit him to come back to the community, but in many cases they are still not permitted to marry for a period of time. Since marriage is so important a function in primitive society, it can be said that in many primitive tribes a man is not considered an active member of society until he is permitted to marry, because he is not permitted to wed until those in power are convinced of his ability to maintain an independent

[33] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia*, p. 543.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 670.

existence and to fulfil the obligations of a family man. Hence it is not correct to suppose that because primitive peoples begin the initiation of their young into active membership in the community at puberty, that for this reason it may also be necessarily inferred that they become active at that early period. It is nearer the truth to state that active membership is really not attained until the puberty stage in physical development is well-nigh over.

Among the Gringai tribe the young man is not allowed to marry until three years after the initiation ceremonies, and until that time must do the bidding of the old men.[35] The Wiradjuri novice (a Queensland tribe) remains in the Bush on probation for twelve months. In the Dieri tribe the boy is circumcised at eighteen, but the coast tribes are circumcised at fourteen. The Thompson Indians of British Columbia are considered marriageable only after they have finished the ceremonies attendant upon reaching puberty. Usually the puberty ceremonies take place at seventeen or eighteen but may continue to as late as twenty-three years of age. Most of the men in that tribe are not married until from three to seven years after finishing their puberty ceremonies, and it may be said that most of the men marry between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-five.[36] In the Dora ceremonies the boys are not permitted to marry until their beards are full-grown. Among the tribes of southwest Victoria the period of probation is spent away from the novice's own people, usually with those of his future wife, and the period lasts twelve months.[37]

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 571.

[36] J. Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Memoirs of American Museum of Natural History*, II, 321.

[37] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia*, p. 615.

A comparison of the eastern and western types of initiation ceremonies reveals many points of similarity and some points of difference in initiation customs. One notes for instance that the circumcision and subincision practices are characteristic of the western and central portions of the continent, as well as the sprinkling of the novice with the blood of the old men. On the other hand, the tooth-knocking which forms an essential part of the initiation in the eastern section, has nothing to do with initiation ceremonies in the central part.[38] Some of the noticeable similarities on the other hand are seen in the emphasis placed upon the separation of the novice from the women and his former milieu, in the prohibition against attendance of women at the ceremonies, although the Warramunga tribe present an exception in that women are permitted near enough to witness the ceremonies, and are even permitted to take part in a portion of them. This may be due to the fact that this tribe believes that the sexes alternate at each successive reincarnation.[39] Generally speaking, however, there is a strict taboo against the women: not only are they excluded from the significant ceremonies, but the novices are forbidden to look at any of them during their novitiate and under penalty of the direst nature are forbidden to reveal the secrets of the tribe to women. "So strong is this feeling against women knowing anything of the secret rites, that, even now, after nearly half a century of occupation of Gippsland by the white men, one of the leaders told me," says Howitt, " 'If a woman were to see these things or hear what we tell the boys, I would kill her.' "[40] Women are not entirely excluded from the ceremonial rites,

[38] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia,* p. 329.

[39] *Ibid.,* p. 358.

[40] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia,* pp. 625–26.

they take part in some of the dances in the earlier stages of the initiation process among some tribes, notably among the Kurnai. Howitt seems to think that the number of bull-roarers used in the ceremony has a bearing upon whether women are totally excluded from the ceremonies or not. Thus he states that the Kurnai have two bull-roarers, a larger one, Tundun or the man, and a smaller one, Rukut-Tundun or woman, wife of Tundun. In this the Kurnai differ from the Coast Murring who have only one bull-roarer, but they agree with several other Australian tribes. He further states: "I think, but I can not be sure, that where two bull-roarers are used it indicates ceremonies in which the women take a certain part, whereas in tribes where there is only one, as the Murring, the women are totally excluded."[41]

SECRET SOCIETIES

The initiation ceremonies of the organized societies present a marked difference in form from those observable among the Australian tribes, although an examination will also reveal some similarities. Generally speaking, the purpose may be said to be semi-communal and semi-individual, in that on the one hand, the welfare of the tribe is kept in mind, and on the other, due emphasis is placed upon the recognition of personal advancement and prowess. The societies constitute the motivating and guiding force of the tribe, and there is a decided disadvantage to the individual who, for any reason, is not a member of a society in a community where these organizations prevail. Some of these societies are clearly military or warrior societies. In North America the secret societies are largely of a fraternal character, in Melanesia and Africa they are more of the tribal society type.[42]

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 628.

[42] H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, p. 136.

The initiation ceremonies of the Mandan Indians furnishes a good example of initiation into the military societies. One of the objects for which the ceremonies were held was to conduct the young men of the tribe through an ordeal of torture by which they were initiated into the position of warriors. The ordeals, as recorded by the painter, George Catlin, who visited the Mandans in 1832, are revolting because they occasioned great suffering on the part of the novice. For instance, an inch or more of flesh on each shoulder and breast was taken up between the thumb and finger and a skewer was forced through. Cords were fastened to the skewer and the body was drawn up by the cords and suspended in the air, the weight of the body drawing upon the muscles. The bodies were then turned faster and faster until the agony could not be borne longer and the candidate ceased struggling and hung apparently lifeless. He was then let down and the body was dragged around in a circle until the skewer was disengaged by tearing out the flesh. Each young man was dragged until he fainted and was left nearly dead, until, by the aid of the Great Spirit, he should be able to rise and stagger through the crowd to his wigwam.[43]

The Duk-Duk Society.—The secret societies appear in Africa and Melanesia as organizations charged with the performance of important political and judicial functions. "In communities where the political powers of the chiefs are as yet in a formative stage, the secret societies provide effective social restraints and supply the governmental activities of the earliest rulers."[44] The secret societies found among the Melanesian and African

[43] George Catlin, *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology* (1894), p. 176.

[44] H. Webster, *ibid.*, p. 75.

peoples present a marked contrast to the tribal puberty institutions of the Australian type, in that the former are organizations more or less narrowly limited in membership to those who can afford the cost of initiation. Possessing in addition to judicial and political functions many rights and privileges debarred to the uninitiated, the initiates of the great tribal societies constitute a rude but powerful aristocracy in communities made up in addition, of women, children, and uninitiated men.[45]

The secret societies in Melanesia exercise a tremendous power over the people. The power exercised by them is well exhibited in the ceremonies of the Duk-Duk which play a large part in the life of the community. The ceremonies are usually held to initiate candidates into the mysteries of the society. The ceremony is held in the early morning without warning when there suddenly sounds the cry of "Duk-Duk" and everyone scurries to cover, the initiated men standing at their doors armed. There now appears what seems an animated extinguisher of reeds and grass, in shape suggesting the tin cones with which candles used to be extinguished. The man hidden under this ten foot reed cone and representing the Duk-Duk spirit, prances through the village and stops at every door, the armed man joining the procession as it passes his door. When every house has been visited, the procession files to the abode of the chief, and he then leads the way to the initiation inclosure. If the procession should meet any man, woman, or child who has not the sign, he or she would be instantly clubbed to death. If the man caught unawares gives the proper sign the Duk-Duk still dances before him, but two warriors leave the line and sponsor him, whereupon he joins the procession to the initiation inclosure. Usually such

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 76–78.

a one is a novice whom the headman has decided as eligible for initiation into the society.

Once in the inclosure and the dance finished, the masked figure in the cone moves toward the novices and stands before each who in turn makes the sign. The testing begins with the command of the chief: "Let him now be put to the proof." The candidate is taken by his two sponsors to the vacant side of the yard where he stands against the battered wall. The Duk-Duk stands very near so that he may note the young man's bearing under the ordeal. Spears now whiz by the novice and stick in the wall not an inch from his flesh. If the candidate should show the slightest sign of fear, the spears would be aimed at him and he would be forthwith killed as unworthy. Having successfully passed this ordeal, the novice is conducted before the chief. The two sponsors fall back a few steps and swinging their clubs let them descend together upon the young man. If he bears this trial without showing signs of pain, he has passed all the required tests. After this the procession goes still farther into the jungle and the women, uninitiated men, and children creep out of the houses and pick up the dead left in the train of the Duk-Duk.

But the ordeal of the spear and club is not the only preparation of the young man for the mystery. At the age of puberty he is told that he can take his rank as a warrior and man of property only if he is hardy enough to sue for entrance to the light of the Great Mystery. The distinction is great and the man does not hesitate to apply to the chief to be prepared for what is to follow. If the chief decides to admit him, two men skilled in the mystery are detailed to educate him; these men go under the title of "brothers of the wood and sea." They lead him to a secluded spot in the jungle and there he makes

a house and hunts a supply of food. This part of his training has been described before. The instruction lasts a month or according to the intelligence of the young man, and when he has satisfied his tutors as to his knowledge and proficiency, they leave him with the parting injunction that another (the Duk-Duk) will come and teach him the remaining things, but until that time the youth must not eat, nor sleep nor speak to anyone. They tell him that he may eat for the last time until that time: "To-day you may eat anything you please, but remember that whatever you eat today you must never taste again. Choose then what you will now eat for the last time, and eat well, for days may pass before he comes who shall teach you the rest." When the lad has eaten the hut is cleared and mats are sewed over the doorway by the sponsors before they leave.

His meal over, the last of that particular food which he shall taste on earth, the postulant composes himself to await the coming of his new master. Day passes and night comes upon him, left alone in a dark hut, in the heart of the dismal jungle and without a fire or the means of making one. He remembers he is forbidden to sleep and as he sits awaiting the arrival of he knows not whom, his strained senses are awake to a chorus of unfamiliar sounds which fill him with a stark terror. The day finally dawns but brings no food, no water, no master. As the sun declines and he sees ahead another night of nameless terror he looks toward the door. Between him, food, fire, and home hangs only a straw mat, yet it makes his dungeon as secure as a forged steel door, for a taboo is upon it. As the first night, so is the second, only thirst parches the mouth and throat more, hunger gnaws more sharply and the nerves are set on edge through lack of sleep. The vigil may last three or four days, but when

even savage endurance can bear no more the master comes. He enters the hut in all his glory of rushes and colored grass woven into a cone, and stands before the lad. No wonder that, worn by his ordeal he should fear this mysterious figure. If however he should show any fear, he would be instantly clubbed to death. If he passes this ordeal, the Duk-Duk teaches him the sign of recognition, gives him a new name by which he shall henceforth be known, and bids him go to his own home, avoid childish playmates, tell no one the lessons imparted to him, but await the next visitation, when the Duk-Duk will surely claim him and if he passes the remaining trials, will induct him into the mysteries. The young man now goes home, announces his new name, and recuperates. Then the final Duk-Duk day comes on which with others, he is conducted to a lodge in the jungle and is received into the society and warned not to tell the secrets to the women, children, and uninitiated. The initiated call him by his new name and he receives his martial equipment, bow, arrows, spear, heavy club, and short-shelved stone axe given by the chief with the words of the council. He is now a member of the Duk-Duk Society with full warrior status, having been taught who his traditional friends and enemies are, he acts accordingly.[46]

The Kwakiutl Indians of the Northwest Coast.—Initiation ceremonies connected with the acquisition of the Guardian Spirit by the American Indians present

[46] William Churchill, "The Duk-Duk Ceremonies," *Popular Science Monthly,* XXXVIII (1890), pp. 236–46. The performers and devotees of this tribal society are cannibals and few whites have seen the ceremony, and none have been able to learn more than what little they saw. Mr. Churchill was received into one of the native families and was permitted to progress into the chief mystery by initiation in due form. A slightly different account is given by G. Brown in his Melanesians and Polynesians, p. 60 ff.

marked differences from the Australian practice. These ceremonies are held in connection with the admission into the secret societies of the Northwest Coast tribes. The most representative type and the one about which we possess the most definite information, due to the investigations of Franz Boas, is that of the Kwakiutl Indians. The Guardian Spirit among some tribes is inherited, among others it is acquired individually but in accordance with a tribal pattern; but whatever the manner of acquisition, its possession constitutes the guiding principle in the life of the youth. Among the Kwakiutl the Guardian Spirit is inherited, that is to say, the youth is limited in choice to relatively few, to those spirits which are hereditary in his clan. Every young man tries to find a protector of this type.

A peculiar ritualistic organization exists among these Indians during the winter months.[47] At that time the family organization which prevails during the rest of the year is broken up and all the individuals who have the same supernatural being as their protector are grouped together for the period of the winter ceremonies into secret societies. As a matter of fact, the real purpose of the winter ceremonies is the initiation of new members into the societies of which there are four chief ones: the Cannibal Society, which has the highest rank, the Ghost, the Grizzly Bear, and the Fool Spirits. The people are grouped into two great classes of the initiated and the uninitiated, the former are again subdivided according to the secret society to which each belongs and this depends upon the spirit which is hereditary in the family. Often a number of families have the same Guardian Spirit, and although they form one group in the winter

[47] Franz Boas, "Secret Societies among the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of National Museum* (1895), pp. 418 ff.

ceremonies, the method of initiation varies with each family, since it is determined by the legend which tells how the Guardian Spirit was first acquired by the particular ancestor. The uninitiated are also subdivided into a number of groups according to their prospective position among the initiated, and according to their age. The right to be initiated is usually acquired at marriage, and constitutes his initiation and admission into the community as an adult person.

The winter ceremonialism is built around the belief that the Guardian Spirits of the tribe usually take one or more of the youths to their homes in the winter and there instruct them in the traditions of the society over which each presides, teaching them songs and giving them supernatural power; in fact possessing them to such a degree that, when they return home from the spirit-land, they are in an abnormal state and must be restored to the level of everyday living. From this standpoint the ceremonies may be regarded as reintegration rites, the motive of which is to bring the youth back to a realization of normal standards and values.[49]

The ceremonial begins with a number of speeches and songs and with some of the incidents of the potlatch.[50] During these introductory incidents the voices of the spirits are heard (whistles within and without the house) and suddenly those who are to be initiated disappear. It is stated that they have been taken away by the spirits and that on a certain day they will return. On the latter day the whistles are heard again and the people go out in search of the novice who is presumably in the

[49] Franz Boas, "Secret Societies among the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of National Museum* (1895), p. 431.

[50] The ceremonial destruction of property which plays so significant a rôle in the lives of these Indians.

woods nearby. He is then brought back by the tribe who arrange themselves into a procession. After the return to the ceremonial-house a series of dances follow, performed in part by the members of the secret societies and in part by the novice. In his dances the novice impersonates the spirit that possesses him and by the dances which he performs shows that he has learned the traditions and the legends of the group to which he is to belong. He also receives a song and the cries peculiar to his spirit. All these are used by the novice in his ceremonial dancing and the dance which he has acquired must be considered a dramatic performance of the myth relating to the acquisition of the spirit and shows to the people that the performer, by his visit to the spirit-land, has obtained his powers and his desires. He thus authenticates his initiation by his dance in the same way as his mythical ancestor did.[51]

However much these ceremonies may tend to exercise the opposite effect, their purpose is, nevertheless, to produce a normal balance in the faculties of the young man whose poise has supposedly been upset by the experiences of initiation into the world of spirits and through the strain of acquiring the Guardian Spirit. Great emphasis is placed upon the importance of remembering everything connected with the ceremonies, not only on the part of the novice but also on the part of the other participants in the dances and performances, for a "slip in rhythm, or a wrong turn in the dance, to smile and to chew gum, all are mistakes the effect of which is to excite the novice more, and the dancer who has made this mistake thereby forfeits his place in the society and must be initiated again."[52]

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 396. [52] *Ibid.*, pp. 433–35.

These initiation ceremonies then, have a twofold purpose: first, to celebrate the tradition of origin of the society; and second, to integrate the novice into the group, giving the advantages and the leveling influences of formal group contacts. It cannot be asserted that puberty plays an important part in these ceremonies, since the emphasis is upon the hereditary succession into the society, and initiation depends partly upon the acquisition of the Guardian Spirit and partly upon the ability to give a large feast or potlatch in which great quantities of property are destroyed to establish the rank or to raise the rank of the host in the eyes of the community.[53]

The worthwhile things of the group may often be found expressed in the legend and the gifts which the spirit gives to its devotees. Thus the principal gifts in these tales are, as enumerated by Boas: the magic harpoon which insures success in sea-otter hunting; the death-bringer, which, when pointed against enemies, kills them; the water of life which resuscitates the dead; the burning fire, which when pointed against an object burns it.[54]

[53] A. L. Kroeber, in discussing American culture of the Northwest Coast says: "The Northwest is substantially without officials, chiefs, government or political authority. This may seem a strange statement about a culture in which a class of chiefs or nobles is recognized as distinct from commoners. Yet the very breadth of this class of chiefs argues that it is something different in the main, from a group of officials constituting a part of a political mechanism. The concept of such mechanism is foreign to Northwest culture. It knows privilege and honor, but not office; a status of influence, but no constituted authority. This is clearest at the southern end of the area, among the Yorok and the Hupa where the specific developments of crest, name, seat, potlatch, competition, visible insignia are all lacking and the fundamentals of society therefore emerge. What counts is property of acquired or inherited use, of privilege and of ritual. Enough of such possessions give influence, honor and command . . . . gives the rich no office because there are none." *American Anthropologist* (New Series), XXV, 9.

[54] F. Boas, "Secret Societies among the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of National Museum* (1895), p. 396.

GUARDIAN SPIRIT

It has been stated before that the acquisition of the Guardian Spirit may or may not be attended by a formal initiation ceremony. Among the Plateau Indians of North America, the Guardian Spirit idea is very strong, but they present a type of initiation which is strictly subjective and unattended by formal public ceremonial. The induction process here is the acquisition of the Guardian Spirit. It is the type of initiation which is the direct result of certain predispositions and ideas that have been growing in the mind of the boy throughout the years of his childhood, developed from the tribal folklore, legends, traditions, customs. He absorbs the ideals of the tribe from the cradle up and they become part of him to such an extent that when the youth arrives at puberty, he is inevitably impelled to seek the experiences common to his race, which in this case, will change him from the status of childhood to that of manhood.

One of the fundamental features of North American religion is the marked projection of even the most minute socio-economic life-values into the idea of spirits and deities. This intimate and direct relationship is of utmost importance, for to it and to the belief in the *genii loci* was due the most characteristic feature of Indian religion, namely, the development of the Guardian Spirit idea. "I think," says Radin, "it would be a mistake to assume offhand that strictly speaking, each individual had or could have had a distinctly different Guardian Spirit. The evidence accumulated now points unmistakably to an association of the Guardian Spirit with families or even larger groups."[55] This does not mean that they are necessarily inherited, but simply indicates

[55] Paul Radin, "The Religion of the North American Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXVII, 364.

the tendency to acquire those spirits that have proved their usefulness and their power by their gifts to other members of the family. This coincides with the view of Fay-Cooper Cole that the vision sought in connection with the acquisition of the Guardian Spirit is determined to a great extent by the pattern of the group to which the individual belongs. Since, among primitives, religion is one of the most distinctive means of maintaining life values, it will only emphasize and preserve those values that are accepted by a majority of the group at any one time. In North America, religion springs from the relation of the spirits to the life-values of man. One of the greatest crises in the life of a boy is the transition to manhood, and the puberty ceremony among many Indian tribes is the acquisition of the Guardian Spirit, which is a religious experience based in large measure upon the acceptance of the traditional background with all its implications.

When the Indian lad goes into seclusion in the forest or on the mountain top to seek his vision and to get guidance, his desires and his expectations within certain limits are determined by the tribal pattern which also tells him how to meet his experience. Among the Creeks and Muskogee Indians, lads obtained their Guardian Spirit at the age of seventeen. The initiatory rites consisted of a period of fasting and purification in seclusion. In these tribes, the youth remained in the wilderness for twelve months. During this period he observed certain food restrictions which, however, had nothing to do with the clan-totem. At every new moon the lad observed a four-day period of fasting and inward purification through the use of purgatives and emetics. In the twelfth month, he proceeded as in the beginning of his period, and on the fifth day after the customary fasting and purifying,

he emerged from his house, gathered corncobs, burned them to ashes, and rubbed himself with it. At the end of the moon, after sweating in blankets and going into the water, the ceremony was at an end and the Guardian Spirit had been acquired.[56]

Among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia the boys at puberty went through a long course of training which varied with the career which the youth had decided to follow. The adolescent boy began his regular training when he dreamed for the first time of an arrow, a canoe, or a woman. This usually happened between the ages of twelve and sixteen. Those who wished to become great hunters practiced hunting and shooting in a ceremonial way, while the warriors-to-be prayed to the sun god and engaged in mimic battles. If the lad wished to develop into an extraordinary man, the ceremonial isolation and practice extended over years, which he spent alone with his Guardian Spirit in the mountains fasting, sweating, and praying until he had gained the desired knowledge. During the day the novices ran races and exercised themselves in the manly activities; they ran with bows and arrows in their hands until they sweated when they were sent to wash in cold water. This was done four times on each of four successive days. At night they repaired to the mountain top to dance and sing all night, practicing the dances and songs of the tribe, and thinking of its traditions. They lighted a fire which was to proclaim to the tribe the fact that they had attained puberty and were observing the rites which would admit them into the class of men, according to the customs of the tribe. After the four-day period, they returned home but at intervals would return to the lonely

[56] Alicia Owen, *Folk-Lore of the Musquakie Indian of North America*, p. 67.

spots in the mountains where they remained from two to ten days at a time. The first time they returned to the mountains, they had to again stay four days and nights during which they had to fast and for two days they did not drink anything. They also purged themselves with medicine, made themselves vomit, and purified themselves by means of the sweat bath and washing in cold water. Often they would strike their bodies with nettles while sweat-bathing. While in the sweat lodge, they prayed and sang, addressing the spirit of sweat-bathing and asking to be made physically strong, agile, wise, brave, lucky and wealthy, good hunters, trappers, and fishermen; also that they might never be bewitched, nor sick, poor, lazy, or easily tired.

They also went through a system of gymnastics, jumping over sticks and bars between trees. After dark for four successive nights, they fired arrows at certain marks from a distance of thirty feet and if they found that they had not hit them, they would run about and then try again. The ceremonial rites continued until the lad dreamed of some animal, bird, or object which became his Guardian Spirit for life protecting him and helping him. Some Indians had only one, while others had many.[57] Some of the Guardian Spirits of the Thompson Indians were as follows:

Guardian Spirits of Warriors

Heavenly Body: The Sun

Natural Phenomena: Thunder or the thunder-bird, water, tops of mountains, etc.

Animals: Such as grizzly bear, wolf, eagles, hawks of all kinds, raven

Parts of the body: Blood

[57] J. Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History,* II, 317–21.

Objects: All sorts of weapons, arrow, bow, knife, tomahawk, gun, bullet, arrowhead

Guardian Spirits of Hunters

Natural Phenomena: Water, tops of mountains

Animals: Grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, wolverine, lynx, coyote, martin, fisher, mink, deer, elk, beaver, hoary marmot, hawks, owls, raven, crow, magpie, blue grouse

Parts of Animals: Deer's tail, deer's nose

Objects: Canoe, snare

Guardian Spirits of Fishers

Natural Phenomenon: Water

Animals: Loons, ducks, fish of all kinds

Objects: Dugout, bark canoe, paddle, fishing utensils, nets, spears, lines, hooks, weirs

Guardian Spirits of Gamblers, Runners

Natural Phenomena: Creek, spring, stone, dawn of day

Animals: Horse, muskrat, common marmot, rock rabbit, bighorn sheep, mountain goat (Lower Thompsons), buffalo, antelope, caribou (Shuswap)

Objects: Sweathouse, tools of various kinds, moccasins, red and blue paint

Parts of plants: Fir-branch, pine and fir cones

Guardian Spirits of Women

Animal: Mountain goat

Objects: Basket, kettle, root-digger, packing line[58]

Girls also had puberty rites, during which they were isolated for four months and required to live in a special hut in the wilderness, fasting, praying, bathing, and performing those duties which would be required of them—digging trenches to harden themselves, weaving baskets and praying that they might be successful housekeepers and good wives. The acquisition of a Guardian Spirit was not required although some girls acquired them as well as the men.[59]

Dreams or visions were, as we have seen, a very necessary part of the puberty ceremonies and the acquisition

[58] *Ibid.*, I, 354–55. [59] *Ibid.*, p. 317.

of a Guardian Spirit. The vision in fact, is one of the outstanding and most potential factors in the life of the North American Indian. North America is characterized by the conspicuousness of the subjective experience conveniently labeled vision and by the frequency with which tutelaries are derived from such abnormal psychic states. Seclusion, fastings, and purgations are undergone to superinduce religious feeling, which psychologically means a state of mind in which the world of sense impression is shut out and in which autosuggestion and hallucination are predominant. Robert Lowie has made a study of the Crow religion and gives a very clear analysis of the "vision" in its psychological aspect. Although the "vision" of the boy at puberty is one of the most important,[60] the vision experience is by no means confined to this period of life.

Visions enter into the religious life of the Indian at many points of crisis and stress and have a direct influence upon the life of the individual. As the Crow Indian approached adolescence, he noted the difference in the social standing among his tribesmen for he found that, although there were no hereditary distinctions in the tribe, some men enjoyed a greater respect and pre-eminence in the tribe than others. Possibly they were pre-

[60] A missionary, Heckewelder by name, who lived among the Delaware Indians for more than thirty years says that the belief in the truth of the visions obtained at puberty is universal among the Indians and that the influence of this subjective initiation remains with them throughout life. "I have spoken with several of the old men, who had been highly distinguished for valor, and asked them whether they ascribed their achievements to natural or supernatural causes, and they uniformly answered that they knew beforehand what they could do and so did it. When I carried the question farther and asked them how they knew what they could do, they never failed to refer to the dreams and visions which they had while acquiring their Guardian Spirit." Quoted by Frazer in *Totemism and Exogamy,* III, 395, 396, from the "Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of American Philosophical Society."

eminent because of their wealth, wisdom, or war exploits, but whatever the reason for their distinction, one thing was clear to the Crow and that was that all these men owed their success to the blessings of some supernatural power which was the Guardian Spirit of their lives. He knew also that a few lucky persons were visited in dreams by the spirits but most people had to earn their vision through pain and hardship; all must mortify the flesh and so arouse the compassion of the spirits. The procedure of obtaining a vision was fairly fixed. The man would go to a lonely spot, preferably the summit of a mountain. There he would abstain from food and drink for four days or more if necessary. Usually among the Crow some form of bodily torture or disfigurement was practiced as an offering. Most commonly a man would hack off a finger joint of the left hand.[61] During Lowie's visits to the Crows, 1907–16, he saw few men with left hands intact. Generally the sun was supplicated. Following is a typical prayer: "Hallo old Man, I am poor! You see me, give me something good. Give me long life; grant that I may own a horse, that I capture a gun, that I strike a blow against the enemy! Let me become a chief, let me own plenty of property." The sun rarely appeared in answer to these supplications, but other spiritual visitations would. According to a usual pattern they present themselves in human guise but before they leave, they reveal their true nature either by words of their song or by retransformation or by some special instruction. The visitant adopts the suppliant as his child and gives him specific instructions. If martial glory is desired, the spirit may give a dramatic performance of combat, himself equipped in sharply defined fashion defying hostile darts and laying low the enemy. The

[61] R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, p. 4.

implication is that the suppliant follow directions, imitating his patron's appearance.

Following is a popular war-vision as it appeared to one Crow Indian, Scratches-face. He fasted and cut off his finger joint which he offered to a mythical character known as Old-Woman's-Grandson who is sometimes identified with the morning star. This was the prayer uttered on this occasion: "Old-Woman's-Grandson, I give you this [joint], give me something good in exchange. I am poor, give me a good horse. I want to strike one of the enemies and I want to marry a good-natured woman. I want a tent of my own to live in." After his sacrifice he heard footsteps but could see no one. He fell asleep and heard a voice. "What are you doing? You wanted him to come. Now he has come." Then he saw six men riding horses, one of them seated on a bobtail, and this one said to him: "You have been poor so I'll give you what you want. . . . . I am going to run." The trees around there suddenly turned into enemies and began to shoot at the horseman, who rode away but returned unscathed. The rider of the bobtail said to Scratches-face: "If you want to fight all the people on earth, do as I do and you will be able to fight for three or four days and not be shot." The horsemen began to ride East. . . . . The enemies attacked them once more but the rider of the bobtail knocked them down with a spear. A storm came up and hailstones big as fists knocked down the enemies.[62]

In consequence of this blessing Scratches-face struck and killed an enemy without ever getting wounded. He also obtained horses and married a good-tempered and industrious woman. The character of a vision could determine a whole man's career. If he was promised invul-

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

nerability, as in the case of Scratches-face, his confidence in the supernatural patron's aid led him to snap his fingers at danger.

The question is often asked as to whether there is not a deliberate attempt to deceive in these spiritual adventure reports. For instance what prevents a man from returning to camp with a lying tale of wondrous happenings to attain honor and distinction? Lowie is convinced that by and large deception is not practiced, and veracity is often attested by the fact that not a few Indians have confessed their inability to obtain a vision. The test of success alone is taken as a norm to establish the truth and authenticity of the vision. Moreover, the visionary's whole conduct bears the stamp of sincerity. He gashes himself to earn the coveted revelation, yet confesses his disappointment and tries again. He observes minutely all the regulations laid down by his monitor however disturbing to personal comfort. His essential truthfulness is beyond all cavil. But good faith does not solve the psychological problem. The question still remains as to what really happened when Scratches-face's trees turned to enemies and attacked the mysterious horseman. A wholly adequate interpretation, says Lowie, is impossible. The prolonged fast with the abstention from food and drink was coupled with a condition of unusual nervous strain. The abnormal circumstances both of a physical and a psychological nature caused the critical sense to fall in abeyance leaving the field clear for dream fantasies and hallucinations, its particular character molded by a variety of causes. Obviously there was some correspondence between the need felt by the petitioner and the blessing vouchsafed.

The important fact in hallucination is fulfilment through autosuggestion of the visionary's wishes; it em-

bodies a promise that he shall attain his heart's desire, but the wish alone does not suffice. Little Rump will fail again and again while Medicine Crow regularly succeeds. This is to say that we must assume that some people experience visions because of a temperamental predisposition which their envious imitators lack. The experiences of the Crow Indians under the abnormal conditions of the vision-quest reflect individual differences in mental constitution parallel to those found among ourselves. The visions were determined by individual psychology and by individual exigency and desire and they are far from intelligible on that basis. Both in general and in detail the social atmosphere distinctive of Crow culture and specifically of Crow conceptions affects the texture of the hallucinations and what is true of the Crow holds as well for the Thompson Indians or for any other tribe where the vision-quest obtains. Granted a certain scope for individual fancy, the vision in its general aspects will reveal the tribal pattern and ideas. Thus for example, the frequency of the military vision among the Crow and that of the hunter among the Thompson Indians, corresponds precisely to the high regard in which bravery is held, and it is only natural that the deeds conventionally rated as bringing out those qualities rated as pre-eminently desirable should figure conspicuously in the dream-vision.

Every visionary mentions the singing of some song. We are dealing here, says Lowie, with an accepted model. The faster hears a song because that is an integral part of a trance; again the cultural tradition predetermines his experience. To turn to a particular category of revelation, those imparting invulnerability: a frequent incident is the transformation of trees and rocks into enemies who attempt to vanquish the vicariously invul-

nerable spirit-being. This type of experience occurs not only in the narratives of recent visions but also in traditional tales and nothing can be more obvious than the suggestion exercised in the individual's imagery by the cultural pattern. He sees and hears not merely what every or any faster, say in British Columbia or South America would see and hear under like conditions of psychological exhaustion and under the urge of generally human desires, but what the social tradition of the particular tribe imperatively suggests. Thus the phenomena of Crow vision, considered as representative of the general type, can be described in familiar psychological terms such as individual variability, suggestion, and hypnotism.[63]

A youth did not require external promptings to go out in search of a vision. The individual Crow is in the grip of a potent subtle leadership, i.e., the stock of ideas and emotions characteristic of his social group, which fashions his whole cosmic outlook as it fashions the very pattern of his vision. There are certain conceptions which from a child he receives as unchallengeable even though they are not formulated as so many propositions and, while they may in themselves be completely devoid of religious value, they inevitably frame and tincture whatever acquires such value. A horseman in a vision is seen to escape from the enemy, hence the visionary will be invulnerable. What Lowie has found to be true of Crow psychology has been found to be true of other tribes by Radin.[64] Thus the implicit philosophy of reality, limits and predetermines the individual religious views just as social standards current in his community

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 1–14.

[64] Paul Radin, "The Religion of the North American Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXVII, 364.

predetermine his life-values and the wishes he seeks to fulfil through religion.[65] Thoughts and behavior of individuals are determined by factors arising not from the inborn characteristics of the thinker or actor, but from the cultural conditions affecting all the members of the group jointly.

WOMEN

One of the most frequent and most mistaken ideas concerning primitive social organization is the notion that woman is regarded as essentially inferior to man among savage tribes. It is true that in various regions women are not only ineligible to office, but seem to be shut out from participation in all religious activity, but this condition is by no means universal. It is the case among almost all the tribes of Australia, where it would practically mean death to a woman to witness any of the secret mysteries of the tribe, especially the rites connected with the initiation ceremonies. Similar conditions are to be found in parts of New Guinea and Melanesia, but it is equally true that there are many primitive tribes in which it would mean death to a man to witness those ceremonies over which the women preside, notably the rites connected with the puberty initiation of girls, with the initiation into a secret society, or the performance of a sacred duty.

The Ekoi women of Africa have a very powerful secret society of Nimm from which the men are rigorously excluded and which is strong enough to protect itself from the dreaded Egbo Club of the men. The Ibibio women of southern Nigeria have two societies, the Ebere and the Iban Isong, which form the chief safeguards of the Ibibio women against the tyranny of their menfolk. Should a member consider herself wronged, the matter is

[65] R. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, p. 31.

laid before the heads of the society and action is taken in accordance with its decision.[66] Neither of these last two, however, is as powerful as the Society of Nimm, which is of a religious nature.

Moreover, by the unwritten law bequeathed to the Ibibios from times so remote as to be almost forgotten, it is forbidden for any man to be allowed even a glimmering of the mysteries which custom has decreed should be confided to the women alone.[67] The men, on their part, are restrained from prying into the ceremonies closed to them, by their fear of the supernatural consequences attendant upon a violation of the taboo placed upon men. Thus no man will voluntarily place himself in a position which he believes will result in sterility to him. There is a *juju* (spirit) of special renown as protector of women and bestower of fertility among the Ibibios. Pools sacred to this spirit are found scattered about in all that region. If any man should be found lingering in the Bush near such a pool or witnessing the procession of women at dawn of the new-year festival to any of these sacred pools, he would be condemned to death by the old native law, for it is believed that if a man should witness the rite, the blessings of fertility would be denied to the town.[68]

A tendency toward a superior position of women is noticeable in places where descent is through the mother. The following story is told. At Dobu in southeastern New Guinea, a male child was rescued from being buried alive with its dead mother. The facts of the case were these: there were no female children to perpetuate the family and the dead woman was the only one by whom her relatives might hope to continue the line. Therefore,

[66] Mrs. D. Amaury Talbot, *Woman's Mysteries of a Primitive People,* pp. 7, 190.

[67] *Ibid.,* p. 5.

[68] *Ibid.,* pp. 109–10.

when she gave birth to a boy and then died, they were so angry with her that they were about to bury the child with its mother. If the infant had been a girl, every care would have been taken to preserve its life so that the family would not become extinct, but since it was a boy it was not worth saving.[69]

Sex discriminations against women are not as strong among the Indian tribes of North America as they are in Australia; in fact, among the Iroquois tribes, women have a good deal of influence politically, for although they may not themselves sit in the seats of the mighty, it is by them that the actual leaders are chosen. Among some of the southern tribes women have secret societies of their own and the Crow Indians have relatively few restrictions because of sex. Women as well as men may seek visions; they avail themselves less of it, in the opinion of Lowie, because success in war is the most common stimulus for seeking a vision. In the important Tobacco Society there are no offices to which members are ineligible because of sex, and the part played by the women in the dances is conspicuous.[70] In the society of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, women are admitted as well as men since the only requirements for admission are wealth and certain others possessed alike by both sexes. In the Ojibwa-Menominee Midewiwin, women are admitted because it is a society of *shamans* and in the Ojibwa-Menominee culture both men and women may become *shamans*.[71]

An explanation for the exclusion of women may lie in the tribal conception of the respective spheres of ac-

[69] George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 32.

[70] Robert Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, p. 206.

[71] Paul Radin, "Ritual of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV, 206.

tivity of men and women, and this undoubtedly is responsible for the exclusion of men from certain ceremonies. That the restriction against women is due in part also to the horror and aversion caused by the apparent (to the savage mind) unexplainable abnormality of the catamenial periods, which fills the primitive with a sense of uncleanness and awesome fear, is indicated by the fact that in many places where the restrictions and taboos against women have been most rigorously enforced, these are usually removed at the climacteric. This is notably true in Australia where old women may witness many of the initiation rites from which the younger women and girls are rigidly excluded on the pain of death. A man will have nothing to do with a woman in the condition described above; she is regarded as unclean, to be shunned; it is believed her touch will pollute the water, her shadow will contaminate, and no man will eat anything prepared by a woman under the circumstances. She is put under heavy restrictions, is isolated and compelled to observe food taboos. Among the Choctaws, the women at once leave the house, hide from the sight of men and are not permitted to use the family fire lest the household be polluted, and under no condition are they allowed to prepare food for other people. Lowie quotes an interesting incident from an eighteenth-century report of an observer of the Choctaw of Louisiana, which illustrates this attitude. The observer came upon a woman in seclusion and asked her to prepare him some food. When the husband came, the observer invited him to eat too. He began to eat, but suddenly grew suspicious as to the cook and when he found that his wife had cooked the food, he immediately became sick and vomited until he had dislodged all that he had eaten. His imagination

was so strongly affected that he continued sick for some days.[72]

The segregation of women in separate huts was observed by Professor Lowie in full vigor among the Idaho Shoshoni as late as 1900. He says that this feeling is so strong among the Indians that it persists even among the educated to the present.

The initiation ceremonies of girls do not differ widely from those of the boys either in the ends sought or in the incidents of the ceremonial cycle. Here also, we find a desire to train the novice in the useful arts of home life and to instruct her in the ideals of her race. Often the girl is tested for the same qualities and capacities as the boy—for self-denial, self-control, bravery, resourcefulness, fearlessness—although the tests are often not as severe as those through which the boy must pass. Here, too, is a period of seclusion, tooth-knocking and other scarifications, the granting of a new name, drill in the performance of specific tasks that will be required of them as wives and mothers, for pre-eminently the induction ceremonies are puberty rites and a preparation for marriage.

The period of seclusion is part of the ceremonial cycle of both sexes. For the girl the cause is found in part in the desire to train her, partly also in the physical condition attendant upon pubescence, necessitating in the mind of the primitive a formal offering of propitiation against this unaccountable and mysterious physical phenomenon. Because of this attitude, ceremonial cleansing becomes a part of the period of seclusion. The fact of impurity is seen in the prevalence of bathing in a stream, in the taboos against men, in the fact that the girl in this state may not touch herself with her hands.

[72] Robert Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, p. 213.

Among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia she must use a twig if she wishes to scratch herself, and among some tribes elsewhere she may not feed herself. Thus in some of the western Islands of the Torres Straits an old woman does the cooking for a girl in seclusion and even feeds the novice who is not permitted to touch her own food.[73] Again, among the Adaman Islanders the girl feeds herself with a skewer of čainyowood.[74]

Ceremonial cleansing is widely practiced in puberty ceremonies for girls. In Southern Nigeria, the Ibibio girl, before going into the seclusion of the Fatting House for the first time, is led down to the edge of some sacred pool or stream. A sacrifice is offered to the indwelling naiad and a prayer for its protection of the girl is recited, because of its cleansing and fertilizing power.[75]

It is customary for the girl among the Thonga tribes of South Africa to find an adoptive mother to whom she may go "to weep near her" upon the occurrence of the first menses. A month of seclusion follows during which time three or four initiates are often shut up in a hut together. Here they are teased, pinched, and scratched by their adoptive mothers. They must listen to licentious songs sung to them, and though trembling with cold, they may not go near the fire. At this time they are instructed in matters of sex and are warned not to reveal anything concerning the catamenial periods to the men. Politeness to grown people is urged; the girls are required to salute everyone entering the hut. Each morning the girl goes to a pool and immerses her whole body as far as the neck. It is believed that if a member of the

[73] H. C. Haddon, *Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits,* V, 201.

[74] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders:* A Study in Social Anthropology, p. 93.

[75] Mrs. D. Amaury Talbot, *Woman's Mysteries of a Primitive People,* pp. 76, 80.

opposite sex were to see a girl while she is in seclusion, he would be struck blind.[76]

When the Andaman Island girl reaches puberty, she tells her parents, who engage in ceremonial weeping. She then goes down to the sea and bathes for an hour or two. Usually she has a hut of her own at this time, but she need not leave the camp. All ornaments are taken from her; she wears only a single belt of Pandanus leaf and an apron of čainyo leaves. She is covered with leaves and is required to sit on them. She sits with her feet doubled under her and arms folded. She has a piece of wood at her back to lean against, since she may not lie down. If cramped, she may stretch one leg or arm at a time, but not both. She must sit thus for three days and for twenty-four hours she may neither eat nor sleep. She bathes in the sea for an hour every morning. At the end of three days she resumes her life in the village, but for a month she must bathe in the sea at dawn. It is believed that if a man touches a girl during her puberty rites, his arm will swell up.[77]

Tooth-knocking for girls seems nearly as prevalent as among boys. Among many of the tribes of Central Africa a person whose teeth are not chipped is regarded as little better than a dog. The Yaos chip the edge of the four upper front teeth into saw-like points. Both boys and girls must submit to this operation. The Makua tribes file each separate tooth to a point, while the Mambwe knock out the two middle teeth of the lower jaw.[78] Among the Bagesu of Central Africa, boys and girls at eight or ten had the two lower incisors removed, and although this was not a compulsory operation, any-

[76] Henri A. Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe* (1927), I, 177.

[77] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders,* pp. 93–94.

[78] Alice Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa,* p. 42.

one who refused was considered a coward and called "animal" or even "monkey," an insult not to be endured.[79] It is a tribal rule among the Bunyoro (British Uganda) for both boys and girls to have the six front teeth on the lower jaw extracted at puberty. No man or woman of the tribe is regarded as fully grown until this has been done,[80] while all girls of the Thongas (South Africa) file off the incisors, and they keep their mouths closed, not showing their teeth to anyone.[81]

One function of painting and ornamentation—scarification is a form of ornamentation—is to express the personal value of the individual so as to draw the attention of society to them. This is particularly true in relation to initiation and marriage ceremonies. We have seen that scarification on the back of the novice is a practice among the Australian tribes in the initiation of their boys. In Polynesia, the women use simple color designs, but among many tribes of British Central Africa the women substitute the raised scar and this is also true of the girls among the Andaman Islanders. The process consists in making cuts in the skin, and these heal and leave "proud flesh" called keloids. Miss Werner in her study of the natives of this region quotes Dr. Kerr Cross as saying that the tissues of the negro seem to have a tendency to take on a keloid growth, i.e., cicatricial tissue grows large. "If a native gets a cut, it becomes like a tumor or a new growth. If he has been vaccinated, the mark rises up like a two-shilling piece. If he tattoos himself, the surface becomes a series of little growths protruding down the general level of the skin."[82]

[79] John Roscoe, *The Bagesu*, p. 26.

[80] John Roscoe, *The Soul of Central Africa*, p. 178.

[81] Henri A. Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, I, 182.

[82] Alice Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa*, pp. 38–39.

Girls at an early age begin the process of scarring themselves in this manner, in preparation for the puberty ceremonies and marriage following them, for a woman without keloids would not be accepted in marriage nor allowed to join grown women as one of them, since she would still be regarded as a child. Formerly, distinctive patterns were used to indicate the clan to which a person belonged and children marked themselves with the patterns of their mother. One of these patterns as it was used among the Bagesu is as follows: four lines of keloids usually running down from the breasts and two lines on the forehead running down the temples. The method used for producing keloids was by means of a needle, pointed at one end with a ring on the other, which fits on the little finger. The needle is curved to lie closely round the back of the hand, with the point resting against the thumb. With this the skin was pierced and scratched until the desired scar was produced. The girl carries this needle with her wherever she goes and so she might readily develop designs of all sorts, either according to the clan-pattern or to her own taste. Men consider these marks of beauty, and girls value them as highly as any girl of our land values her hair and eyes.[83] The Andaman Islanders also scarify the body with a small flake of quartz or glass, and the reason given is that it improves the personal appearance and makes the child grow strong.[84]

Another form of scarification, one of the purposes of which is to test the physical bravery of the novice is circumcision or clitoridectomy as it is practiced by many

[83] John Roscoe, "The Bagesu and Other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate," Part III, *Report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa* (1924), p. 27.

[84] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, p. 92.

tribes in Africa. Among the Basabai, a Bagesu tribe of Central Africa, the girls were smeared with the contents of the stomachs of animals killed for the feast and then ate the meat of these roasted, before the operation. A crowd of women stood about during the operation watching for signs of fear, and it was reported that even if the girl's great toe twitched she was branded as a coward. During the ceremony and the healing no man was permitted near.[85]

In many tribes it is customary to give the initiated girl a new name. So among the Nootka Indians of North America the girl receives a new name at the termination of her puberty ceremonies. A Basabai girl, after she has recovered from the operation of clitoridectomy, is taken to a hut where she receives a new name. A relative usually goes beside the girl, bearing ornaments to be received with the new name. As each girl receives a new name she is clothed with a new robe.[86] Among the Andaman Islanders the maturity of a girl is indicated by the assumption of a flower name, from the flower in bloom at the time of the first catamenial period, and she is called by this name until the birth of her first child.[87]

A period of formal instruction is often a part of the initiation ceremonialism of girls. Among the Yaos of Central Africa this period lasts a month. The girls proceed to the Bush with their instructress, who receives a fee for every candidate she trains. Here the girls are taught housebuilding, pot-making, cooking, and other duties of married life, and they are put through a regular drill in these and other activities, such as pounding

[85] John Roscoe, *The Bagesu, and Other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate*, p. 79.

[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

[87] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, p. 93.

corn and carrying water. They also go through the whole round of agricultural operations, pretending to sow the grain, hoeing, weeding, and reaping. They are also given advice as to housekeeping and the duties of married life and are warned of the penalties against marital infidelity. They are then anointed with oil (the skin cracks in the tropics because of the excessive heat) mixed with certain medicinal herbs, and their heads are shaved. Toward the close of the ceremony, the roof of a house is placed over the heads of ten novices at a time, and they have to carry it about in this position, an act symbolical of their future position as pillars of the home. There is a strict taboo against the approach of men during any part of the initiation ceremonies.[88]

Professor Sapir describes a very interesting puberty ceremony for girls among the Nootkas of the northwest coast of North America. We have seen above that in this region the potlatch is a central ceremonial point of convergence and that most important events are celebrated with a potlatch; the girl's induction ceremony is no exception to the rule.

Maturity among the Nootkas begins at the appearance of the first menses and from this point on, the girl is required to observe certain restrictive measures both as to conduct and food. Two months after this, the father or guardian of the girl gives a potlatch "the essential part of which is a religious ceremony but which is also meant to give a new status in the tribe—that of entrance into womanhood." The main features of the Nootka puberty ceremonial are: the torch ceremony, the water-pouring ceremony, the Thunder-bird dance and others, the distribution of torches, the performance of one or more games which the father or guardian of the girl

[88] Alice Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa,* pp. 126–27.

claims as a hereditary privilege, the singing of satirical songs of sexual content, the potlatch, and the granting of a new name to the novice.[89]

The number of ceremonial torches which each girl possesses, corresponds to the number of months the girl is to spend in seclusion observing the taboos due to her condition. Each girl must remain in seclusion for at least four months and many remain longer. A basin of water is poured upon the novice's feet, symbolic cleansing from the impurities believed inherent in the girl's condition. For four days after the torch-ceremony the girl must remain behind painted boards in seclusion, night and day. She may not eat or drink anything during that time, nor may she sleep, but must remain seated with her arms folded. She may not scratch herself with her fingers but must use a cedar-stick for the purpose. A number of girls usually sit with her and sing songs to prevent her from sleeping. Older women sit in front of the boards to help sing. At the end of the period of rigorous seclusion the girls proceed unseen to a creek and take the appropriate number of hemlock branches, each of which is tied at one end. They wash themselves vigorously with each one. Bathing cleanses the girl from the impurities of her state and marks the end of her first taboo period. If the parents are wealthy they give two puberty potlatches for their daughter, each marked by the usual distribution of gifts. The girl now puts on a hair ornament and she now may eat. Thereafter begins a longer but less rigorous period of taboos, which lasts for as many months as is indicated by the number of torches. The end of this second period is marked by a

[89] E. Sapir, "A Girl's Puberty Ceremony among the Nootka Indians," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, VII, 77.

potlatch and feast after which the girl is released from the taboos, and by the presentation of gifts.[90]

The pastoral tribes of Central Africa believe that the well-being of a man's herd is closely connected with the general condition of his wife. She is, therefore, required to do little work lest her fatigue affect the herd of cows detrimentally. Her work consists largely of washing and fumigating the milk pots and churning the butter. She does no cooking, except when a cow is killed or dies.[91] The diet of women is largely milk.

It is quite evident that the combination of a milk diet and lack of exercise due to idleness, must cause the women to become very fat, and this is so. Obesity is, in fact, one of the first and most important requirements of beauty in women. This has a very important bearing upon the initiation ceremonies among these pastoral tribes of which the Ankole are a good example. To attain the desired degree of obesity, no efforts are spared by the parents of a girl, for the fatter the girls are, the more they are admired by the men. For this reason, girls before marriage are not permitted to walk about and are encouraged to drink as much milk as possible. As a consequence of the enforced sedentary habits and the resultant fat, women after marriage often lose the power to walk.[92]

Since the initiation of the primitive girl is closely bound up with preparation for marriage, every rite contributes toward that end. Hence, in those tribes where obesity is a standard of beauty, the first great event in the life of a girl is her entrance into the Fatting-house.

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 67–80.

[91] John Roscoe, *The Soul of Central Africa*, p. 64. No matter how the cow dies, the meat is always eaten among the Ankole of Central Africa.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Thus an Ibibio girl enters the Fatting-house for the first time on the occasion of the Mbobi, i.e., at the first signs of approaching pubescence. The "Fatting-house" is a room set apart for the seclusion of girls undergoing the fattening process. Here they are fed up and pampered, in a state of idleness. The Mbobi lasts three months and during this time clitoridectomy is performed upon the girl.[93]

At the entrance to each town, before the marketplace, bundles of little frames may be found tied together (such as are used for carrying fresh or dried fish). Each bundle is placed there by the family of the girl just entering the Fatting-house, for the purpose of informing prospective wooers of the number of brides preparing in the town.[94] Among the Efiks and the Ibibios, free-born girls go to the Fatting-house as many as three times.

The second period in the Fatting-house is fixed at the "point where the brook and river meet." The period of seclusion varies according to the wealth of the family, from several weeks to two years. At this time they are most indulged, spoiled, and pampered, so that, in the words of Mrs. Talbot "they emerge to the admiration of their adoring relatives and townfolk at large, perfect mountains of flesh, naked in most parts of the district, save for a few strings of beads and bells or else decked out with an extravagant array of native ornaments but always with an air querulous and arrogant." A day is set apart for the first appearance of the girls of each town ready to emerge. The occasion is one for much rejoicing; a feast is prepared and there is much dancing. The girl is smeared from the waist downward with red camwood dye, Fatting-house ornaments, consisting of tas-

[93] Mrs. D. Amaury Talbot, *Woman's Mysteries of a Primitive People*, pp. 76, 82.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

sels and chains of dried palm-leaf-fibre, dyed red, are hung about her neck, while a crosspiece of the same material is usually passed beneath the breasts. She wears a girdle of beads, cowries, and palm, also dyed red. Her face is painted in various colors and patterns and her hair is dressed in a very elaborate manner and decorated with combs and large pom-poms of white feathers, while over all nods a plume of dark green and creamish feathers.[95]

Mrs. Talbot, who, with her husband, was present at a number of these functions, gives the impression it made upon a white woman, in the following words:

> On several occasions we have been present when these swollen specimens of femininity strutted through the market-place, enjoying their brief hour of importance, while the men, who at every other period of a woman's existence are considered superior, draw back admiringly to give them passage. . . . . On such occasions the whole charm of these women has temporarily disappeared (at least in the eyes of white people) . . . . only an overweaning vanity and a bloated self-importance are now manifest. The men who stand by during this parade, appraising the merits and value of the various debutantes, afterwards hurry to the parents to offer the dowry.[96]

So necessary is it considered that a woman be fat to be desirable, that an Ekoi mother who does not approve of her daughter's choice, can usually induce her to give the man up by refusing to provide her with a good "fatting-house."[97]

CONCLUSION

It must now be evident that a ceremonial expression of sentiment is one of the most characteristic manifestations of primitive life and that such ceremonials inhere particularly in those experiences which are most vital in

[95] D. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 108.

[96] Mrs. D. A. Talbot, *Woman's Mysteries of a Primitive People*, pp. 83–84.

[97] D. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 107.

the life of primitive man, such as birth, puberty, marriage, death, and war. It is of the utmost importance to the welfare and survival of the primitive social group that each individual member contribute his rightful share to the life of the group according to the culture-pattern which has been set up. The recurrence of typical stress situations causes the repetition of similar reactions with each recurrence and these often crystallize into formal acts which develop into ritual. A rite may thus become a formal act which has been developed for the observance of an occasion of particular significance in the life of the group and used exclusively in connection with that occasion. Ritual may be public or private in its performance, and both types are to be found in initiation ceremonialism. Generally speaking, in the type of initiation that is formal and public, the rites of preparation such as those connected with the period of seclusion are private, while those marking the final, formal integration into the group are public. Hence, the type of initiation represented by the acquisition of the Guardian Spirit need not differ from that above in the rites of preparation but simply in those of formal integration, and this is the fact of the matter. In the search for the Manitou we find a period of separation and seclusion, characterized by a process of purification, ceremonial cleansing, accompanied at times by mutilations and scarifications. This period of seclusion we found to be as prevalent in the initiation ceremonies of girls as of boys. A basic motive in the observance of the period of seclusion is undoubtedly the feeling that the novice be put in the proper frame of mind as he approaches the important experience which to him is to mean a complete change not only in his manner of living, but in his general attitude and in his relations to the community. The period of seclu-

sion affords the novice an opportunity for intensive training, and for testing his capacities. It is in the period of seclusion that the Indian finds his Manitou and receives the vision that is to act as the guiding principle of his life. The end to be served by purification and ceremonial cleansing differs as between the sexes, but the effect in producing the desired set of mind is the same.

An outstanding fact in primitive initiation ceremonies, whether public or private in performance, is the emphasis which the primitive seems to place upon the attitude of approach to the process whereby the chasm between childhood and maturity is bridged. The primitive youth is not permitted to slide into the responsibilities of maturity and active group-membership; on the contrary, every effort is made to impress not only the adolescent of the importance of the step, but the community as well. The novice approaches the period of his initiation into active membership in a spirit of awe and reverence, pride, and expectancy. This attitude is produced in part by the atmosphere of mystery which hovers about much of the induction procedure, particularly among such groups as the Australians, in part by the importance which the community attaches to the step and partly by the novice's reaction to his preliminary training.

The primitive places a great deal of emphasis upon the necessity for practical training preliminary to admission into full membership in the tribe. This period of intensive instruction is always under the direction of responsible tribal leaders. Its purpose is also to afford an opportunity for impressing the worthwhile things of the group upon the individual. It is at this time that the boy is instructed not only in the arts of hunting, fishing, and in the other activities that appertain to the men, but

also in the ideals, traditions, and moral precepts of his group. In this period the girl practices the arts of home-making and is taught the rules of conduct she will be expected to observe as wife and mother.

Much stress is placed upon the finality of the separation of the young person at puberty from all the influences that surround the state of childhood. This emphasis is often indicated by separation rites, such as the ceremonial weeping of the mother found among many Australian tribes when the son has passed through the initiation ceremonies. Some women also place badges of mourning upon themselves as an indication that they have lost a child. Thus also, African parents weep with their daughters when puberty has set in. In the case of boys, separation is further emphasized by the fact that all initiated men who are unmarried live in so-called bachelor-houses where they are entirely separated from the influence of women, including that of their mother. To be in any sense under feminine influence after one has become a man, is to sink to the very depths of degradation. Professor Howitt tells of an amusing incident in this connection, which took place at one of the Australian initiations which he witnessed. In the Wiraijuri tribe a certain boy had often been reproved by the old men for playing too much with little girls, and not mending his manners. The old black-fellow doctor took him in hand and proceeded to extract from his legs certain strands of the "woman's apron," which he said had got into him in consequence of his behavior. A further consequence of this was that when he was initiated subsequently this same old man could by no means get the tooth out until after a great number of blows, which then were only successful when he had rubbed the boy's neck and again extracted quite a number of pieces of the

woman's kilt. "This was," said the witness, "indeed a case of being tied to an apron-string."[98]

Closely connected with the idea of instruction is the plan of testing the fitness of the novice to enter into the new relationship. The primitive has devised means to test the fitness and ability of the novice along many different lines. Through these tests the novice reveals whether he knows the tribal origin and traditions, as in the case of the novice among the Kwakiutl Indians who is required to perform the dances that depict the manner in which the first ancestor acquired the protecting spirit. By physical tests of endurance, among which the infliction of pain stands out prominently, the novice must prove that he possesses those qualities and virtues which the group esteems as essential. In the bush or in the woods, the novice must prove that he is able to execute the practical requirements of life under difficulties and restrictions deliberately placed upon his freedom of action in order to bring out his capacity of inventiveness and resourcefulness. Generally speaking, the qualities for which the initiate is tested might be classified under two headings, as traits having primarily social and political significance, and those of a more personal character, although the line of distinction is not always clear. Under the first category fall co-operation, respect for established authority, responsibility for lawfulness, reverence for religious beliefs and tribal traditions, reliability, morality, and loyalty. Under the more personal virtues may be mentioned self-reliance, self-restraint, courage, truthfulness, ingenuity, and resourcefulness. Some of these qualities are tested for in the course of the formal ceremonies, others in the experiences of the probationary period in the bush or the woods.

[98] A. W. Howitt, "On Some Australian Initiation Ceremonies," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIII, 448.

Another outstanding feature of primitive initiations is the fact of the public recognition which the induction process enjoys. This recognition may be formal or informal; it is formal in those cases where the initiation is accompanied by public ceremonialism, but it is informal where there is no ceremony, as among the Athapascan Indians and other tribes of the Plateau region of North America. In essence, the ceremony is an integration rite, which accomplishes the formal assimilation of the individual into the group. This public recognition has a salutary effect upon the individual as well as upon the group. In the individual it produces the feeling that coming into active membership must be regarded as a privilege as well as a right, and that it must be earned. It gives the novice a sense of political and social individuality which he has never before felt, and makes him feel himself to be an integral part of a greater whole, sharing a common background and common aspirations with it.

The effects of the induction ceremony upon the group are of equal importance. In the first place, it brings together a relatively large group of people in a common cause, which tends to stir up a consciousness of tribal unity and solidarity and affords a formal occasion for the expression of patriotic sentiment which stimulates an interest in public affairs. Professor Howitt asserts:

> One of the causes which act strongly in producing uniformity of belief and practice is the fact that men from a wide radius of one country come together to the ceremonies. When they return to their homes, they take with them new ideas and new beliefs and procedure, and they may themselves contribute something to the ceremonies at which they are guests. The effect of this intercourse is to produce uniformity in procedure and practices.[99]

[99] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Australia*, p. 640.

The ceremony becomes the chief vehicle for the transmission of tribal culture. The significance of it lies not so much in the specific method of details as in the fact that a common basis for opinion and belief is created which is indispensable to social solidarity.

The recognition by the group of the importance of the individual as a co-operating unit in the life of the tribe impresses the novice with the fact of his responsibility for good conduct to the tribe, to its traditions, to its elders, and here we find the effective control agency without which ceremony would fail of effectiveness.

An appropriate setting has much to do with the effectiveness of any public function and in this respect the primitive has shown himself an excellent psychologist, for he chooses the time of day and the place most likely to make the most vivid impression upon the mind and sensibilities of the novice. Then there is the psychological effect produced on the boy in witnessing and being a part of a ceremony which he has never before seen and about which he knows nothing definite.

> The initiation ceremonies are intended to impress upon the youths a sense of responsibility as men, to implant in them by means of impressive ceremonies the feelings of obedience to the old men and to the tribal moral codes of which they are the depositories and to ensure that, before the youth is permitted to take his place in the community, join in the councils, and marry, he shall be possessed of those qualifications which will enable him to act for the common welfare and not only to support himself and a family, but also to contribute to the general store of food to which his relatives are entitled in common with himself.[100]

One other important fact to be noticed in connection with the ceremony is that no long period of time is allowed to elapse between the training and the ceremony proper, and this is a very important factor in producing the right

[100] A. W. Howitt, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute,* XIV, 320.

attitude of mind in the approach of the novice to the ceremonial occasion.

One further feature of the initiation process is to be noted, namely the fact that in almost every case studied there is an outward symbol of some sort, sometimes several, which indicate that the boy has passed into the state of manhood. One underlying motive for scarifications and mutilations of all sorts, including tooth-knocking, boring of the septum of the nose, circumcision, subincision, or slashings of the flesh on different parts of the body is the need felt for some visible sign that initiation has taken place although these also serve as tests of endurance and self-control. But the visible sign of initiation does not necessarily assume the shape of scars and mutilations, it may be simply a fire on the hilltop laid by the Indian boy who has gone out into the silences of the forest to seek the Guardian Spirit of his life and a vision of his manhood, as the customs of his tribe demand of him, which tells to his world that he is fulfilling the requirements of manhood. Often the outward symbol is a change in the dress of the youth. Among many tribes in all parts of the world, the novice receives a new name which indicates the definiteness of the change that has been wrought and the complete break that has been made with the past.

Concerning the induction of women it can be said that the initiation of girls is as widespread a custom in primitive society as that of boys, although the two need not necessarily occur in the same tribe. Indeed, anthropologists have found that the very regions where boys are not formally initiated, abound in puberty ceremonials for girls. There is much similarity in the incidents of the ceremonial cycle of the two sexes, although the meaning and the significance of the various rites must differ

according to the requirements of sex and the concept of the division of labor between them. As to the relative position of men and women in the ceremonial life, it cannot be said that the superiority or inferiority of the one or the other is established beyond cavil by the mere fact of its exclusion from certain ceremonial rites of the group. In a good many instances descent is through the woman and among the tribes that practice matrilocal residence, the man goes to his wife to live, the children bear her name, and the father exercises his authority not as the father of his own children, but as the uncle of his sister's children.

Talbot, for many years in the Nigerian political service, relates a story which he found to be a tradition among the Ekoi people, which endeavors to explain why men must serve women and why women were originally the superiors of men.

> Long ago, Obassi Osaw and Obassi Nsi determined to build two towns, the former, one for men and the latter one for women. Each was to be separate from the other, and when both were inhabited, the people from the two towns began to exchange visits. Disputes arose as to the ownership of the intervening Bush, and the men began to fight their neighbors.
>
> Obassi Nsi and Obassi Osaw said to one another: "What can we do to prevent this? Let us hold a meeting." When they had considered the question, they decided that it would be better for men and women to live together in one town, but the women refused and said: "Why should we go to live in their town? If the men want to dwell with us, let them come and live in ours."
>
> And so to this the men finally had to agree, because the women would not come to live with them, and that is the reason why, when we marry a woman, we must serve her so long as she lives with us.[101]

Initiation ceremonies are an important part of civic training among primitives because they fill a definite

[101] D. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 98.

need in that they produce an interest in tribal affairs, act as vehicles for the transmission of tribal culture and traditions, promote community interest and aim, accomplish the formal assimilation of the individual into the group, and emphasize the importance of individual co-operation toward the welfare of the group. But the ceremony in and of itself is not sufficient; its true effectiveness lies first in the period of intensive training and testing for fitness in the arts of citizenship which goes hand in hand with the ceremonies and in many cases is a part of them. In the second place, the primitive group is small enough to act as an effective control agency, making possible an insistence upon the maintenance of the standards of performance of civic obligation. Thus the induction process has an intellectual basis in specific training under responsible leadership, which then becomes sensitized by an emotional appeal produced by the ceremonies, which, following closely upon the training, relate the instruction to the realities of the situation and thus make a vivid impression on the novice, creating in him an impulse to be public-minded and a desire to be actively identified with the life of the community of which he is a part.

CHAPTER II

GREEK AND ROMAN INDUCTION CEREMONIES

GREECE

The Greek conception of citizenship had necessarily a marked effect upon civic training and education. To be a citizen of a state did not merely imply the payment of taxes and the possession of a vote; it implied a direct and active co-operation in all the functions of civil and military life. A citizen was normally a soldier, a judge, a member of a governing assembly, and all his public duties he performed not by deputy nor by representation, but in person. The aim of Greek education, therefore, was to make the boy conform to the type of manhood and citizenship which each Greek state held as its own ideal. Thus in Sparta the state began to train the boy for citizenship at the age of seven and the emphasis was placed not so much upon the acquisition of knowledge as upon the physical and moral development of the future citizen. The Greek, especially the Athenian, regarded himself as an integral part of the state, and, therefore, his whole life must be devoted to what he conceived to be the duties of a citizen.

SPARTA

The Spartan, for instance, could not conceive himself as apart from the state. We are told that Lycurgus trained his fellow-citizens to have neither the wish nor the ability to live for themselves, but like bees to make themselves always integral parts of the whole commu-

nity clustering together about their leader.[1] Thus Paedaretus, when he failed to be chosen among the three hundred best men, went away with a very glad countenance as if rejoicing that the state had three hundred better men than himself.

The chief interest in the Lacaedemonian system is not so much in the political institutions as in the severe discipline exercised by the government over the citizens from their birth to the grave. The state exercised a continuous, intimate control over the individual from the moment when, through the Council of the Phyle immediately after birth, it decided whether the infant was well formed and showed promise of becoming a strong man physically, that is, whether the infant had the right to live. The entire manner of living from the seventh year, when the boy passed from the control of the women, was directed toward the hardening of the body and developing the power of endurance. The aim of the Spartan state was primarily to produce good citizens, i.e., good warriors, and the watchword was obedience, for it was Lycurgus' idea that "just as the final attainment of the art of horsemanship is to make a horse gentle and tractable, so it is the task of the science of Government to implant obedience in men." As a matter of fact the training of the Spartan lasted into the years of full maturity. No man was allowed to live as he pleased, but in their city as in a military encampment they always had a prescribed regimen and employment in the public service, considering that they belonged entirely to their country and not to themselves.[2]

The boy at seven went into one of the various *βοῦαι*

[1] Plutarch *Vitae. Lycurgus* xxv. 2.

[2] Plutarch *Lycurgus* xxiv 1.

The whole membership of the βοῦαι was divided into three classes according to age:

		Years of Age
1	Paides	7 to 18
2	Melliranes	18 to 20
3	Iranes	20 to 30[3]

Of reading and writing they learned only enough to serve their turn; all the rest of their training was calculated to make them obey commands well, endure hardships, and conquer in battle. At the age of twelve one of the older boys became the adviser and friend of the lad, whose function it was to instruct and admonish him as a friend. The formal training of lads up to eighteen years of age, when they attained their majority was in the hands of the Eirens (Iranes). One of the best and noblest men in the city was appointed *paedenome* or inspector of the boys and under his directions the boys in their several companies put themselves under the command of the most prudent of the Eirens in their division. The Eiren commanded the boys in their mimic battles and they had to serve him indoors.[4] Often after supper the Eiren as he reclined would order one of the boys to sing a song and another would put a question requiring a careful and deliberate answer, such as: "Who is the best man in the city?" or "What thinkest thou of this man's conduct?" In this way the boys were accustomed to pass right judgment and to interest themselves at the very outset in the conduct of the citizens; for if one was asked who was a good citizen and who an infamous one, and had no answer to make, he was judged to have a torpid spirit and one that would not aspire to excellence. And the answer must not only have reasons and proof given for it, but also be couched in very brief and concise

[3] Plutarch *Lycurgus* xvii. [4] *Ibid.*

language, and the one who gave a faulty answer was punished. At times, too, the Eiren punished the boys in the presence of the elders and magistrates, who frequently came in to see that the boys were being properly trained, thus showing whether the punishments were reasonable and proper. While he was punishing them, the Eiren was not interfered with, but after the boys were gone from the room, he was brought to account if his punishments were either too harsh or too lenient.[5]

Every year the young men who had reached a certain stage of development would give a demonstration of their power to endure bodily pain. This originally had a religious significance and took place at the altar of Artemis Orthia or Orthosia. Here a flogging took place and often the boys were dragged from the ordeal unconscious.[6] This calls to mind the tortures which prevailed in the initiation ceremonies of military societies of many of the primitive peoples, as among the Mandans in North America.

The Spartan government has been likened unto a military camp (Isocrates vi. 81) and, indeed, the military character was impressed upon the Spartan's manner of life with irresistible strictness. The training lasted well into maturity; no man under thirty was permitted to go into the market-place, and it was even disreputable for elderly men to be continually loitering in the market-place, instead of spending the greater part of the day in the places of exercise and the so-called *leschai,* the places where men assembled for conversation.[7] The younger men were expected to watch over the boys if no other duty was laid upon them and either teach them some useful thing or else learn themselves from their elders. The

[5] *Lycurgus* xviii. 2.

[6] *Lycurgus* xvii, xviii.

[7] *Lycurgus* xxv. 2.

public Syssitia at Sparta seem to have had a military object and in their inner significance might be regarded as associations of mess-comrades in a camp.[8] Lycurgus xv is the authority from which it is inferred that the youth on the completion of his twentieth year took his meals in the Phidition, unless he were the head of a *βοῦαι*, in which case he had to dine with his charges.

Family life in Sparta was reduced to comparative insignificance and was completely overshadowed by the importance of the state. Every act of the Spartan was to be weighed with reference to its probable effect upon the state; the entire educational system was but a formal training for effective citizenship, and received its public recognition daily in the control which the state exercised over the action of its citizens, and in the interest it took in the training and the education of the individual. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that no formal ceremonialism ushered the young man into maturity, when his subsequent career did not differ, except in degree, from his occupational training. What the Spartans lacked in formal ceremonialism they made up for in specific training in civic matters. There was no great step to be bridged between boyhood and manhood, such as existed among primitive tribes and such as exists in most civilizations today.

ATHENS

Athens offers a contrast to the Spartan system. She trained her citizens for peace as well as war. In Athens the acquisition of citizenship was not an automatic process as it is in our day; children were not born into citizenship, but this was granted by the state only after the satisfaction of certain conditions. The grant of citizen-

[8] G. Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, p. 65, note 2, and p. 66, note 1, cites proof of this.

ship by the state was a public act and considered as a privilege as well as a right by those who could qualify. Another reason why citizenship was cherished by the Athenians was because its attainment was restricted to those in the state who could qualify and the number of these was not large in relation to the whole body of the population.

In the early days of the Athenian state, the *phratries* were important social and political units; they were subdivisions of the four Ionic tribes. Inasmuch as they were divisions of the whole body of citizens, no one could become a member unless his citizenship was undisputed. Originally, their functions were political as well as religious and social, but their political importance declined after the reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 B.C. The members of a *phratry* were all bound together by the tie of kinship, somewhat like the primitive tribes. Although the importance of the *phratry* had declined as an influential political factor in the Athenian state by 400 B.C., it was still necessary for every Athenian to belong to a *phratry* in order to attain citizenship.

The child was admitted into the *phratry* of its father after due proof of the satisfaction of the requirements for admission so that such an admission constituted per se an evidence of the legitimacy of the child in question and of his rights to citizenship. Thus it may be said that the chief remaining function of the *phratries* (404–337 B.C.) was that of watching over the citizenship of the children: of the boys until they became of age, and of the girls until they married.[9]

[9] Botsford and Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization*, p. 471.

Our chief source of information concerning the organization and function of the Athenian *phratry* for the fifth and fourth centuries is an inscription found on the site of ancient Deceleia, a *deme* of North Attica, which contains three decrees of the *phratry* of the Demotionidae for regulating the admission

Admission into the *phratry* took place on the last day of the distinctive festival of the *phratry* called the Aparaturia, which lasted three days. At that time all those who had been born following the Aparaturia of the previous year were presented for admission and the father of each child so presented, offered a sheep for sacrifice upon this occasion. Upon presentation for admission the members of the *phratry* decided whether or not the boy or girl was the lawful and legal offspring of Athenian parents. The father had to take an oath to this effect and if the legitimacy of the child was duly established, the name was enrolled in the registry of the *phratry*. This festival usually took place in the month of Pyanepsion (October-November).[10]

In Athens the individual entered into legal relations with his state when he was admitted to his *deme* upon the attainment of his majority. On the completion of the boy's seventeenth year, that is at eighteen,[11] the youth was once more presented by his father or his guardian to the members of his father's *phratry*. The father or guardian offered a special sacrifice, the meat of which was distributed to the members of the *phratry*. The priest of the *phratry* also received a cake, two quarts of wine, and a drachma in money.[12] The boy had to be enrolled in his father's *deme* for every citizen, after Cleisthenes had systematized the democratic constitution at

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of new members, though the organization of the *phratries* differed widely from one another, since the state left them free to adopt whatever constitution they wished.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 473, note 5.

[11] Authorities differ as to the exact age of majority, as between the beginning or the completion of the seventeenth year, but it has been generally conceded from reference to certain well-known cases, such as that of Demosthenes, that majority was attained at eighteen.

[12] Charles B. Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, p. 89.

the close of the sixth century, had to be a member of one of the hundred or more *demes* or townships of Attica. Originally the *deme* was a territorial division in which the demesmen were actual neighbors and united by a common local interest. If a man moved away, he still continued a member of his original *deme* and his sons had to be enrolled into it as well. No specific time was set for the enrolment but it is probable that it was the same in all the *demes.*[13]

When the youth presented himself for enrolment in his father's *deme* he was again examined for the qualifications for citizenship as to the age requirement, legitimacy of birth, and pure citizen descent on both sides. Before proceeding upon this examination the demesmen took an oath that they would make a just inquiry, after which they voted upon the question whether the lad was of the age required by the law and whether his pedigree satisfied the conditions legally necessary for full citizenship. If the demesmen accepted him, his name was forthwith inscribed in the deme register, whereupon he became entitled to citizens' rights and became liable (technically) to citizens' duties; he could now inherit property and exercise an independent control over it. He now became one of the *ephebi,* who spent the next two years in active training for citizenship.

If the youth was found under age, he was returned to the ranks of the boys; but if the demesmen challenged his birth qualifications and refused to enrol him for that reason, an appeal could be made to the law courts. The demesmen then elected five of their number to act as prosecutors in the coming trial. If the verdict of the *dicastery* was against the appellant, he was sold into slavery and the proceeds of the sale went into the state

[13] G. Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities,* p. 197.

treasury; but if the court upheld the appellant, the demesmen had to enrol him forthwith. After this, the council or *boule* examined the age qualification of the candidate, and if it decided that the boy was under eighteen, but had been passed upon as of age by the demesmen, a fine was inflicted upon the latter.

The change from boyhood to manhood was marked by a symbolical act which took place just before the introduction of the youth into the *phratry*. The young man invited his friends to a drinking bout. After a libation to Hercules, his hair which during childhood had been allowed to grow long was cut off and dedicated to some river god. "This ceremony was so typical of the passing from boyhood to manhood, that it gave its name to the sacrifice *kourein* offered at this time by the boy's father or guardian; this word and the words for 'cutting the hair' (κεῖρα) and for 'barber' (κουρεύς) are all related."[14]

Upon entrance into the *deme*, the Athenian acquired his complete citizen name, which consisted of his own name, the name of his father in the genitive case and his *deme* name[15] and henceforth, he was considered a legal and political personality with whom the state might deal directly.

The young man, however, did not enter immediately into the duties of citizenship, since a two-year period of military and other training and probation followed immediately upon the enrolment in the *deme* register, or in other words, upon the attainment of majority. During this period of training the young men were called *ephebi* and their training was closely supervised, partially through the agency of the *phratry* and partially

[14] Charles B. Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. vi.

[15] G. Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, p. 191, cites Demosthenes, xxxix, 9.

through that of the state. The guardians of the *ephebi* were selected in the following manner:[16] The fathers of the *ephebi* assembled by tribes, took an oath and elected from their tribesmen three persons above forty years of age whom they considered best fitted to supervise the activities of the youths, and from these, the popular assembly chose a moderator for each tribe or *phyle,* and from the whole body of the Athenian people a commander for the entire company was appointed. These officials assembled the youths and then made a procession about all the temples of the city. The assembly also elected two trainers for the *ephebi* and instructors to teach them the use of arms. The first year was spent in gymnastics and in learning the elements of hoplite combat; they were also trained in archery, spear-casting and the use of artillery engines. They also performed guard duty at the garrisons at Munychia[17] and Acte.[18]

After a year of training, a public demonstration of skill and a testing of fitness took place in the theater. The *ephebi* were publicly inspected and this testing usually took place on the occasion of the great Dionysian festival to which not only all Athens flocked, but visitors from other parts of Greece and from other countries. This festival was one of the greatest public occasions in the year. It was held in Athens at the theater for six days in the month of Elaphebolion (March to April) with great splendor. A solemn procession was formed representing the train of Dionysiac revellers and Dionysius was worshipped as the liberator of the land from the bondage of winter; but the glory of this festival was the performance of the new tragedies, comedies, and sa-

[16] Aristotle *The Constitution of Athens* xlii.

[17] Munychia, the acropolis in the eastern peninsula of Piraeus.

[18] Acte, the southwestern peninsula of Piraeus.

tyric dramas which took place with lavish expenditure on three consecutive days. In consequence of the immense number of citizens and strangers assembled, it was often found convenient to take one of these six days for conferring public distinctions on meritorious persons, as in the case of the presentation of the golden crown to Demosthenes.[19]

It is easy to see what sort of an impression it might make upon the *ephebi* to be marshalled before such a gathering of people upon so important an occasion of national significance. Here the *ephebi* gave an exhibition of their skill in tactics and warlike accomplishments, such as archery, spear-casting, and fighting in heavy armor. Those who successfully passed these military tests were presented with a spear and shield by the state. After the presentation of the shield and spear, the *ephebi* went to the temple of Agraulus, the daughter of Cecrops, whose shrine was in a cave in the northern declevity of the Acropolis, and there took the oath of allegiance as a soldier and a citizen.[20] The oath as taken is as follows:

I will never bring reproach upon my hallowed arms nor will I desert the comrade at whose side I stand, but will defend our altars

[19] *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquity,* p. 521.

[20] There is a difference of opinion as to when this oath was taken by the *ephebi,* some authorities maintaining that it was taken immediately after the enrolment in the *deme* register, during the time in which the youths were making the rounds of the temples. Gilbert takes this stand (*Greek Constitutional Antiquity,* p. 311) but others hold (Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopedia,* p. 2738) that it took place after the arms had been conferred by the state. Thus Thalheim says: "Es ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass erst jetzt nach dieser Waffenleite von den Epheben im Heiligthum der Agraulos am Fusse der Burg, der feierliche Eid, der bei Pollux viii, 105; und bei Stobaeus xliii, 48 erhalten ist, geleistet wurde, und nicht, wie gewöhnlich angenommen ist, am Beginn der Ephebenzeit. Dafür spricht entschieden der Anfang des Eides." For further proof for this latter position see also an article by J. W. Taylor in the *Classical Journal,* XIII (1918), p. 497.

and our hearths, single-handed or supported by many. My native land I will not leave a diminished heritage but greater and better than when I received it. I will obey whoever is in authority and submit to the established laws and all others which the people shall harmoniously enact. If anyone tries to overthrow the constitution or disobeys it, I will not permit him, but will come to its defense single-handed or with the support of all. I will honor the religion of my fathers. Let the gods be my witnesses, Agraulos, Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone.[21]

The ceremony of taking the oath partook of a religious nature. Enyalius was an epithet for Ares, god of war; Thallo was one of the Horae, who were goddesses of order in nature, of which Thallo was the goddess of the flowers of spring. Auxo, one of the three graces (Charites) who typified everything that lent charm and grace to nature and human life, typified increase and was worshipped in Athens. Hegemone represented leadership. That the ceremony was essentially a religious one appears from the words of Grasberger, who says: "Unter den Augen der Götter wurde endlich der Ephebe mündig erklärt, neu bekleidet und wehrhaft gemacht, und vor den Göttern gelobte er mit feierlichem Eid, Erfüllung seiner Bürgerpflichten."[22]

The importance which the Athenian placed upon this oath is well illustrated by a proceeding which Lycurgus is said to have brought against Leocrates who abandoned Athens after the Battle of Chaeronia and had taken up his residence first at Rhodes and then at Megara. This period was considered as one of the most critical in the history of Athens by patriots like Lycurgus and Demosthenes, and anyone deserting the state at such a

[21] Found in Stobaeus *Florilegium* xliii. 48, the translation above was rendered by J. W. Taylor in his article on the "Ephebic Oath," *Classical Journal,* XIII, 497.

[22] L. Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht im Klassischen Altertum,* III, 545.

time would be considered guilty of a species of treason comparable to our conception of parricide.[23] Thus Lycurgus said to Leocrates: "You have an oath which all the citizens swear when they are enrolled in the register of civil maturity (deme register) and become *ephebi,* neither to disgrace the sacred arms nor to abandon their place in battle, but to come to the aid of their fatherland and to hand it down to posterity in improved condition."[24]

During the first year of training, the *ephebi* sat at a common table and dined by tribes. The state furnished the money for the provisions, giving each moderator a drachma a day for himself and for each of the youths four obols daily. The management of things was left to the moderators.[25]

At the beginning of the second year, after the demonstration of fitness in the use of the arms in the theater, the *ephebi* were detailed to garrison duty and field service, stationed mostly in the fortresses of Attica, patrolling the frontiers. Under the supervision and military command of the *strategoi* to whom all the officers of the *ephebi* were subordinated, the youths were exercised in marching, digging trenches, throwing up fortifications, and carrying out siege-works. During this time they wore the military cloaks. To prevent their military education from being interrupted, the *ephebi* were free from all public burdens and responsibilities. They were not taxed, they could not sue in the courts, nor be sued by anyone, so that there should be no excuse for requiring a leave of absence; the only exceptions made were in case of actions concerning inheritances and wards of the state,

[23] Botsford and Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization,* p. 478.

[24] *Lycurgus, Leocrates* lxxvi.

[25] Aristotle *The Constitution of Athens* xlii.

or of any sacrificial ceremony connected with the family,[26] for as one authority has said: "Bei den Alten ist auch der Cultus von Staat und Familie nicht getrennt."[27]

After these two years of training, the youth finally took his place among the active citizens. Every citizen was liable to military duty from his twentieth to his sixtieth year; active military duty outside the country was confined to those between the ages of twenty and fifty. Those under twenty and those over fifty were used as a sort of reserve for the defense of Attica itself.[28]

The date of the origin of the system of ephebic training has been a subject of controversy among scholars, the older theory held by such men as M. Dumont in his *Essai sur l'Éphébie Attique* and by M. Giraud in his *L'Éducation Athenniene* in 1891 and later reaffirmed in his article on the *Ephebi* in Daremberg and Saglio holds that the Attic *ephebeia* was an old or fifth-century institution, whereas the newer theory, sponsored by Wilamowitz in his *Aristotles und Athen,* and by Alice Brenot in her *Recherches sur l'Ephebie Attique* holds that it was essentially a creation of the fourth century and reached its full development only after the battle of Chaeronia in 338 B.C., which finally awakened Athens to a belated realization that her safety demanded something more than a navy and that consequently, in a few years the *ephebie,* as described by Aristotle xlii, was created. She holds that the inscription 334–33 B.C. is an enthusiasm that *semble indiquer la joie du resultat heureux d'une institution nouvellement etablié.* Of these two theories, the latter

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] L. Grasberger, "Die Epheben Bildung," *Erziehung und Unterricht im Klassischen Altertum,* Vol. III.

[28] G. Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities,* p. 316.

seems to have been proved to be the better and to have been accepted as correct within the last few years.

The induction of the Athenian into citizenship reveals certain striking features, the first of which is that an Athenian was not a citizen merely by virtue of his birth; the state granted him citizenship only if he was able to meet and satisfy all the requirements laid down by the state as necessary qualifications. The inevitable psychological effect then, as it undoubtedly would be today under a form of restricted citizenship, must have been that citizenship at once became a most desirable thing, because it was a restricted right, not attainable by all the population because they were not able to satisfy all the conditions laid down by the state. The process of becoming an active citizen was not automatic; the state was not so much concerned about acquiring large numbers of citizens; it was more important that those who became citizens should be of that type which would promote the welfare and prosperity of the country, and to attain this end, a public system of intensive training was instituted. The men who were in charge of the young men who were training for citizenship were carefully chosen; they were representative citizens who were all over forty years of age.

Here again is a distinction between legal and civil maturity, that is, between the time when the youth reached his legal majority and what we might term political maturity, or the time at which he entered into active participation in the life of the community. The attainment of majority did not at all carry with it the right to participate actively in the affairs of the state. A period of training followed directly upon the attainment of majority, the content of the instruction and training dependent upon the conception of the ultimate function

of the citizen in his relation to the state. To the Greek, whether Spartan or Athenian, the first duty of the citizen to his state was to maintain the political and territorial integrity of it. For this reason the training of the *ephebi* was of a military character, fitting the citizen for the performance of his highest duty to the state. Thus the training reflected the ideal of the state. But the state demanded also a proof of fitness on the part of the youth and recognized the fulfilment of the requirements in a public way, first by presenting the successful with the arms, and also by presenting them upon an occasion upon which the greatest number of people would witness the ceremony.

The state, however, demanded not only that its future citizens be fitted to carry out their most important duties toward it. It required in addition, that the young man swear his allegiance by a solemn oath, taken in surroundings most likely to leave their impress upon the lad. The Athenian oath was a double one, military and civil. The first part of it, as we have seen, is military in character, relating to the obligation to protect and defend the country; the second part of it relates to the civic obligation of obedience to established authority and adherence to the constitution and statutes of the state, indicating a necessity for the recognition of responsibility in the individual, for lawfulness in himself and in others. In the third place, the oath places an emphasis upon the maintenance of the traditions and mores of the race chief among which is the perpetuation of religious customs and ideals.

The significance of the oath lies not alone in its content, but also in the fact that admission into the ranks of citizens was not possible without it. Thus an expressed allegiance to the state and a specific recognition of the duties of citizenship was a necessary prius to the attain-

ment of citizenship and to active participation in civic functions. The oath, furthermore, made it clear that the defense of the country was as great and as necessary a duty as the obligation to obey its laws and constitution. The invocation of Ares, Zeus, the spirit of Youth, of Increase, and Leadership carry interesting suggestions as to the political ideals of the Athenians.

Some of the ceremonial features of the induction process, such as the cutting of the hair, were private in character, but most of them were public and centered about the ephebic contests in the theater during the Dionysian festival when the *ephebi* gave proof of their skill at arms, to all the crowds gathered from near and far to celebrate the achievements of the year. The public presentation of the arms to the successful ones at this time must have made an unforgettable impression upon the youth, to say nothing of the solemnity involved in taking the oath of allegiance to the state.

It is also to be noticed that here, too, as in the case of primitive society, no period of time was allowed to elapse between the training and the assumption of responsibilities of active citizenship. The young man became politically of age later than his legal majority, and although his formal education ended at sixteen, his formal citizenship training did not begin until he had reached his legal majority, so that he was twenty before his political personality could become evident in the state.

ROME

The attainment of majority and the entrance of the youth into the body of active citizens was marked by some ceremonialism among the Romans, although the transition was more a matter of family activity, due no doubt to the glorification of the family and the conse-

quent power of the *pater familias* over all members of the *familia.* The freedom of the children was curtailed by the arbitrary power of the father who continued his control over his son with the power of life and death throughout his life. In fact, if the father wished to renounce the *patria potestas* over his son, it must be done either by the adoption of the boy by another pater, which merely meant an exchange of authorities, or by the formality of emancipation. This latter process is described by Ulpian x. 1:

> Liberi parentum potestate liberantur emancipatione, i.e., si posteaquam mancipati fuerint manumissi sint, sed filius quidem ter mancipatus, ter manumissus sui juris fit. Id enim lex xii tabularum jubet his verbis: Si pater filium ter venum duit, filius a patre liber est. Ceteri autem liberi praeter filium tam masculi quam feminae una mancipatione manumissioneque sui juris fiunt.

Boyhood education ceased for the Roman youth at the seventeenth year, at which time the boy ceased to be *puer* and became *juvenis,* and technically liable to military duty. As a sign that he had attained manhood he assumed the *toga virilis,* and it is about this rite that the ceremonial of the induction process revolved. Just as the *familia* was the center about which the life of the state revolved, so the *familia* was also the center for the ceremonies connected with the assumption of the *toga virilis.* This change in dress meant a great difference in the life of the boy, for it was an indication that he was "of age" and in the eyes of the law a man, capable of looking after his own subsequent education and holding of property. Fowler considers this a survival from the times when at the age of puberty the boy, as among primitive peoples, was solemnly received into the body of citizens and warriors and the solemnity of the Roman ceremony fully attests this.[29]

[29] W. W. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero,* p. 192.

The investing of the *toga virilis* usually took place (in the later days of the Republic) on March 17, the Feast of the Liberalia. Very little is known about this feast except that it was dedicated to the worship of Liber, the god of wine. This was also the time when the army was called out for the year. Ovid tells us that on this day the rustic population flocked into the city for the Liberalia and the opportunity was undoubtedly taken to make known the list of the *tirones* (novices) as the boys were called when the toga was assumed.[30]

The father of the lad on the appointed day made a sacrifice in the home in the presence of the *familia,* and at this time the boy laid off the *insignia pueritiae,* which included the *toga praetexta* and the *bulla aurea,* and was invested by his father with the *toga virilis,* the plain white garment of manhood. The *bulla,* which was a sort of charm, was taken from the boy's neck, consecrated to the *Lares familiares* and hung over the fireplace.[31]

After the assumption of the *toga pura,* the boy was conducted by his father or his guardian in the company of relatives and friends and a large following of people to the Forum where he was publicly presented to the peo-

[30] Ovid *Fast.* iii. 771:

Restat ut inveniam quare toga libera detur
Lucifero pueris, candide Bacche, tuo.
Sive quod ipse puer semper iuvenisque videris
Et media est aetas inter utrumque tibi;
Seu quia tu pater es, patres sua pignora natos
Commendant curae numinibusque tuis,
Sive quod es Liber, vestis quoque libera per te
Sumitur et vitae liberioris iter.

[31] Prop. v. 1. 131:

Mox ubi bulla rudi dimissa est aurea collo,
Matris et ante deos libera sumpta toga.

Pers. v. 31:

Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit.

ple. The tremendous effect of this upon the youth can be gathered from a remark of Seneca (Ep. iv 2): "Tenes utique memoria quantum senseris gaudium cum praetexta posita sumpsisti virilem togam et in forum deductus es." Since the Romans always considered a large escort or retinue desirable, especially upon public or festive occasions, as an indication of popularity, special efforts were made by the father upon this occasion that the son should appear in the Forum with becoming pomp and crowded retinue. Accordingly, people of the lower classes and mere observers were often pressed into service. After presentation to the populace, the boy probably also had his name inscribed in the list of citizens in the *tabularium* of the tribunes on the Capitol or among the archives of his province, for which purpose he received his full name if it had not been given to him before.[32] Another sacrifice was then made by the father at the Capitol[33] and the ceremony ended with a banquet in the home. It can be assumed that the sacrifice took place at the altar of Juventas in the temple of the Capitol; since the time of Servius boys entering into the *juventus* had brought sacrifices to that altar.[34]

Since the boy, on coming of age, was technically liable to military duty, it was appropriate that the investiture of the *toga virilis* should take place on the Liberalia, on the day on which the army was called out, and that the *tirones* should be publicly presented upon that day.

After the ceremonial introduction into public life, there usually remained for the youth a finishing year, the

[32] J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, pp. 125–26.

[33] Servius ad Verg. ecl. iv. 50:
Cum pueri togam virilem sumpserint, ad Capitolium eunt.

[34] J. Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 126, note 4.

tirocinium, a year of transition during which the behavior of the *adolescens* was carefully watched. This was a period of specialized instruction during which the youth was required to exercise in the Campus Martius, so that he might be ready to serve in the army when campaigning was required of him; at this time, too, he was to prepare himself for the special calling which he had elected to pursue. Cicero mentions this year of preparation: *Pro Cael.* v. "Nobis quidem olim annus erat, unus ad cohibendum bracchium toga constitutus." According to whether he chose the law or a military career his training was *tirocinium fori* or *tirocinium militiae.* The purpose of this year of training was to bridge the gap between puberty and the time when the boy would be mentally qualified for a profession.

If the boy intended to become a lawyer or to enter public life, he usually attached himself to an eminent statesman, as Cicero with Scaevola, and learned from observation both manners and methods. During this period, the man became a guardian of the boy and was responsible for his welfare, conduct, and education. At the same time the young man frequented the Forum and the tribunals to fit himself for public life, escorted by a person of respectability whom his father had chosen for that purpose. Thus Cicero says of himself in the Introduction to his "Essays on Friendship": "Ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam, sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem."

If the boy intended to have a military career, he attached himself to a general and accompanied him upon his campaigns. The *tirocinium fori* or the *tirocinium militiae* is the whole time between the assumption of the

toga pura and the entrance into public activity or into a military career.

The completion of the seventeenth year was the age at which the *puer* became *juvenis.* According to Livy xxi. 57, after the Battle of Cannae in 216 B.C., two classes of young persons were distinguishable, namely "juniores ab annis septendecim" and the *praetextati.* The observance of this age later, still called *plena pubertas,* was retained in practical life and in law even into later times.[35] The age requirement in the later republic was set at an earlier age, and in the Empire, jurists set an absolute date for the legal age at fourteen, at which time the boy was legally free to marry, to make debts, to receive a legacy and to make a will; but so long as he was *praetextatus* he could not vote. His introduction into the Forum constituted the recognition of his political majority.

In the olden times it depended in a large measure, too, upon the father as to the age at which the boy was to assume the *toga virilis*: Thus Cicero says in a letter to Atticus: "Quinto Liberalibus togam puram cogitabam dare; mandavit enim pater."[36] Excluding extreme cases, the period of assuming the *toga virilis* was between fourteen and sixteen years of age. It depended also somewhat upon the physical and intellectual development of the *tiro,* also upon the circumstances of the family, and discrepancies in age were also due in part to the fact that

[35] Becker, *Gallus,* Part II, p. 108.

[36] Thus M. Tullius Cicero received his at the completion of his sixteenth year; M. Tullius Cicero, the son, at sixteen; Vergil at fifteen; Octavian at fifteen; C. Caesar, grandson of Augustus, at fifteen; Tiberius at fourteen and one-half; Drusus, son of Tiberius at sixteen; Caligula at nineteen or later; Tiberius Caesar, son of the younger Drusus at eighteen years of age; the poet Persius at sixteen and the Emperor Nero was not yet fourteen. Taken from Marquardt, *op. cit.,* pp. 128–29. Most of the citations are from the period of the Empire.

the ceremony occurred on a special day so that in some cases there might be a difference of a year between the *tirones.*

Marquardt maintains that the *toga* continued to be used in official circles in the time of the Empire and the solemn assumption of the *toga virilis* occurred not only in the imperial family but Apuleius, who lived under the Antonines, mentions them in his family. Marquardt ascribes the early legal *Pubertätstermin* in the time of Augustus to the tendency in all circles of administration in the Empire to cut the age requirements for office holding. Thus in earlier times[37] the age required for a *quaestor* was thirty but in the time of Augustus only twenty-five.

From the time of Augustus, the children of senators had access to a seat in the senate immediately after the assumption of the *toga virilis.*

It has been stated before that at the completion of the *tirocinium* the youth had attained his political majority and with it all the rights and privileges of full citizenship. It is important to note at this point a fact of great significance, namely, that here again no period of time is permitted to elapse between the period of instruction for citizenship and the moment of the assumption of complete civic responsibilities and political majority.

The solemn and public assumption of the *toga virilis* can have had no other significance than the reception into the citizenry, for which reason the citizens took part in the ceremony and the inscription into the citizens' register followed, and although the *ius suffragii* lost its significance in the time of the Empire and the effect of the *toga virilis* was merely to grant private law independ-

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 131, notes 2 and 3.

ence, it follows from the nature of the case that the exercise of political rights began then.[38]

Thus, in the Roman induction process, there was also a formal recognition by the state of the attainment of majority through initiation ceremonies. As the family was the backbone of the Roman state, so the *pater familias,* representing the family in the larger sense, was the motivating force in the ceremonies. It was he who invested the son with the *toga,* and he it was who presented the youth to the *Populus Romanus* in the Forum on the feast of the Liberalia.

The ceremonies took place once a year and upon a day definitely set apart and this a day of national significance. It was significant from the religious standpoint since it was the feastday of the god Liber, who presided over the family and granted the blessing of children;[39] and from the political standpoint in that it was the day upon which the army was annually called out.

Here, too, there was a period of intensive training under the direction of a responsible and competent individual, and in all cases except where the boy chose a military career, as an officer, the *tirocinium* followed the initiation ceremonies. In the case previously mentioned, it often happened that a youth would perform his *tirocinium* when still *praetextatus,* and in this case the induction process and the assumption of the *toga virilis* followed the intensive training, but whatever the order of precedence, it is clearly evident that no period of time was permitted to intervene between the training for citizenship, which meant either training for war or for law and public administration, and the attainment of political majority.

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 132.

[39] A. Fairbanks, *The Mythology of Greece and Rome,* p. 191.

As in the case among the Greeks, so the Romans made a distinction between legal majority or the age at which the full exercise of private rights was permitted and the political majority or the age at which a man obtained the *ius suffragii* and the right to hold office.

The visible sign of the attainment of manhood was the wearing of the *toga virilis,* which was distinguished from the *toga praetexta,* worn by children, in that it was pure white, whereas the latter had a purple border.

CHAPTER III

FEUDAL ADOUBEMENT CEREMONIES

The disintegration of the Frankish state and the lack of strong central government in the ninth and tenth centuries brought about a political and social chaos from the effects of which society sought to protect itself by those institutions which we now know as "feudalism." Lesser men grouped themselves around the great lords for immunity and protection. Thus the duties and rights incident to citizenship or to membership in tribe or state were supplanted by personal relations, generally based on land-holding between lords and vassals.[1]

The words knight and knighthood have an interesting derivation; they are modern forms of the Anglo-Saxon *cniht* and *cnihthád.* The meaning of *cniht* is boy or youth and *cnihthád* is period of life between childhood and manhood. The origin of knighthood as it existed in the Middle Ages, implying a formal assumption of and initiation into the profession of arms, is uncertain. It is generally held, however, that the rudiments of chivalry are to be found in the ancient customs of the German barbarians and that they were developed by the Franks of Gaul.[2] Tacitus in the Germania xiii. 14, gives a description which bears some resemblance to primitive initiation ceremonies. He says that the German tribes of his day were wont to celebrate the admission of their young men into the ranks of warriors with a great deal of ceremony. The people in the district to which the young man belonged were called together, his qualifications for the

[1] D. C. Munro, *The Middle Ages,* p. 133.

[2] E. Prestage, *Chivalry,* p. 24.

privileges about to be conferred were examined, and if it was decided that he was worthy and fitted to receive them, his chief, his father, or one of his near kinsmen presented him with a shield and lance. In this connection Guilhiermoz makes an interesting statement to the effect that

> Il fait observer que cette cérémonie produisait pour le jeune germain les mêmes effets que la prise de la robe virile pour le jeune romain: elle faisait de lui un citoyen. Aussi avait-elle lieu dans l'assemblée du peuple, qui seule avait qualité pour juger si le jeune homme était capable de porter les armes.[3]

Thus the giving of arms to a youth when he had reached manhood by the primitive Germans was adopted by the Salian Franks, and the granting of arms was from then on associated with the attainment of manhood and coming-of-age. Thus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was only after this ceremony that a man was considered of age, and up to that time he was not in enjoyment of his full legal rights.[4] Thus when knighthood was in flower, the attainment of knighthood meant the attainment of one's majority, and to use the words of Guilhiermoz, one became a citizen.[5]

Chivalry deals with the customs and standards of action of feudal society in the Middle Ages. It prevailed among the dominant classes in the greater part of Eu-

[3] P. Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'Origine de la Noblesse en France au Moyen Age,* pp. 24–25.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 395. See also E. Prestage, *Chivalry,* p. 45.

[5] With regard to the age at which the adoubement took place among the Franks, Guilhiermoz says: "Il y ait eu une première et principale majorité, fixée à 12 ans et coincidant à peu près avec la cérémonie de la capillaturia, puis une seconde, ayant lieu seulement aux environs de la vingt et unième année, et marquée par les cérémonies de la barbatoria et de l'armement. L'existence de ces deux majorités dans l'empire franc est, d'ailleurs, rendue indubitable par le fait qu'on les retrouve toujours vivantes a l'époque féodale, tant en France qu'en Allemagne." *Op. cit.,* p. 410.

rope between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries. Since it is the product of feudal civilization, its character is essentially evolutionary, so that its ideals and standards must differ with each particular period of the feudal age. Prior to the twelfth century chivalry was characterized by a brutal insistence upon "rights" to the exclusion of social duties and obligations. The knight of the early Norman period, whether in England or on the Continent, was not beloved by anyone. Hearnshaw states that it is difficult to say by whom he was most detested, by the king, by the pope, or by the commonalty; and Flach in his *Les Origines de l'ancienne France* (II, 568) declares that "neither regard for weakness nor religious fear had any influence over them."

The social attitude of chivalry penetrated through feudal society through the instrumentality of the church in the twelfth century. This humanizing influence is ascribed by some writers to the activities of Cluny, in part it was also undoubtedly due to the influence of the Crusades, which caused the church to alter its attitude of aversion to war. These holy wars, with their stimulation of foreign intercourse, shook feudal society out of mental and moral stagnation on the one hand, and on the other increased the power of the church and served to impress Christian ideals upon feudal society. The attainment of the latter end was conspicuously aided by the establishment of the crusading orders, such as the Templars.

It is not possible here to discuss the evolution of the ideals of chivalry, but it is quite reasonable to hold that contact with the invading barbarians, notably the Saracens, must have caused the infiltration of new ideas; this has been found to be true particularly of the sense of honor which was not wholly derived from feudalism. It is safe to say that as feudal society drew its character from

many sources, including the Scandinavian and the Celtic, so also chivalry, in reflecting the ideas of that civilization, contained elements derived from these sources.

The ideals of the age of chivalry at its best are found perpetuated in the chansons of France, in the Arthurian cycle and the Grail cycle of England. Thus the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* embodies the ideals of English chivalry:

> A knight there was, and that a worthy man,
> That fro the tyme that he first bigan
> To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
> Trouthe and honor, fredom and curteisye,
> Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,
> And thereto hadde he riden (no man ferre)
> As wel in Cristendom as hethenesse,
> And ever honoured for his worthinesse.

Thus also, Tennyson, in the *Idylls of the King,* gives expression to the ideals of chivalry:

> To reverence the King as if he were
> Their conscience, and their conscience as their King,
> To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
> To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,
> To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,
> To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
> To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
> And worship her by years of noble deeds,
> Until they won her.

Although it cannot be said that these ideals were universally practiced, they exerted a potent influence on the actions of society as a whole, and the best of the medieval nobles felt the force of *noblesse oblige.*[6]

Whatever the standards of the time might be, the whole duty of a gentleman was included in the idea of chivalry and his life from early childhood was regulated

[6] E. M. Hulme, *History of the British People,* p. 114.

by it. The knight could never escape from the rule of service imposed on him by religion, and military duty.[7] The important fact here is that although to be knighted meant to a noble youth the attainment of his majority, no one was born a knight; like Athenian citizenship, it had to be achieved.[8] The training for this began in early youth. The great barons usually had the sons of knights living with them, so that each had around him, as it were, a school of chivalry. The number of boys or *nourris* in training for knighthood depended upon the wealth and standing of the baron, since it involved considerable expense to keep a number of these for years.

It was customary for the boy to remain at home under the care of his mother until the age of seven. At that time he was placed with a baron, whose page he became. It was considered wise to send the boy from home because no father or brother could enforce sufficient discipline over a growing lad, and it was proper he should learn to obey before he governed, otherwise he would not appreciate the nobility of his rank when he became a knight.[9] This early period of instruction lasted until the boy was fourteen or fifteen years of age. During these early years he was the constant attendant of both his master and mistress, waited upon them in the hall, accompanied them in the chase and served the lady in her bower so that he might learn all the courtesies of social life.[10] By the time his service as a page had ended, the boy had

[7] E. Prestage, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[8] Guilhiermoz cites a passage from the *Siete Partidas* of Alphonso the Wise, in which it is provided that a king cannot be crowned unless he had first been knighted. Thus: "Tanto excarescieron los antiguos ordenes de la caballería que tuvieron que los emperadores nin los reyes non deben ser consagrados nin coronados hasta que caballeros feusen." *Op. cit.*, p. 397, note 13.

[9] E. M. Hulme, *History of the British People*, p. 110.

[10] F. Warre-Cornish, *Chivalry*, p. 47.

learned to read and write, to ride, to hawk, to play chess, checkers, backgammon, to thrum a harp and sing with clear voice, to shoot with the bow, and to fence with considerable skill. He was also learning to handle a light lance and a shield while on horseback.[11] The principal part of a boy's education was out-of-doors to fit him for his active life in the society of which he was to become a part.

At the age of fifteen the boy's preliminary education ended and he became a squire and the constant companion of his foster-father. During this period of intensive training, which lasted until the boy became twenty-one, he watched the older men handle their weapons and then was given weapons of his own and began his tedious training in the tiltyard. He accustomed himself to ride the great horse, to tilt the quintain, which was a manikin covered with a coat of mail and a shield and set on a post, to wield the sword and battle axe, to swim and climb, to run and leap, and to bear the weight and overcome embarrassments of armor. He inured himself to cold and heat and voluntarily suffered the pains and inconveniences of hunger and thirst, fatigue and sleeplessness. He waited on the table; he was responsible for receiving noble guests and generally attending to their comfort. On expeditions he carried the shield and armor of his lord to the field, cased and secured him in his panoply of war before assisting him to mount his charger. He learned the management of all the affairs connected with the administration of large estates and the master frequently trusted him with secret missions of an important nature. Thus the lad had large responsibilities placed upon him, and learned to transmit commands and to handle delicate situations. He was thus trained in all the

[11] E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

ordinary requirements of a nobleman, and, when he became a knight, he would not be a mere inexperienced novice in the practical problems of feudal life either as they related to war or to peaceful occupations.

In the training of these youths the ideals of the feudal age were revealed: government by a limited aristocracy of arms and of wealth, with war as the ever present condition. War, in fact, was the normal state of feudal society. Skill in war, courtesy in society, etiquette in court were the ideals which society in the feudal epoch sought to instill in its members. Four things which relate to individual action and which were required of every knight are found in the *Ordenne de Chevalerie,* a somewhat rude didactic poem, in which the scene is laid in the Holy Land. The interlocutors are a captive Christian Knight and Saladin; the latter wishes to become a knight and the former tells him that every knight must observe four things: (1) Never to parley with a traitor; (2) Never to lead astray a dame or damsel, but to respect and defend them from all injury; (3) To observe piously all the fast days and days of abstinence; (4) To hear mass every day and make an offering at the monastery.[12]

In the early days of the feudal epoch, knighthood was open to anyone and was frequently the reward for some act of courage or heroism in battle and at this time the ceremony was very simple. The candidate simply knelt before the chief of the army or some valiant knight who struck him thrice with the flat of the sword, pronouncing a brief formula of creation and exortation which varied at the will of each. This frequently happened before and after a battle.[13] Ownership of land and horses necessary for fighting, however, soon became connected with the state of knighthood, and sharp lines of social demarcation

[12] L. Gautier, *Chivalry,* pp. 248–50. [13] *Ibid.,* p. 214.

resulted. As the influence of the church grew, religious influences and ceremonialism were injected into the ceremony of adoubement and it became very formal and complicated in the thirteenth century.

The occasion chosen for the ceremonial knighting was usually one of the great church festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.[14] On any of these days they were certain of having a great audience and a crowd of spectators. Christmas was not favored as much as the other two days because an important part of the ceremonies was performed in the open air, and spring was more in harmony with the spirit of festivity and youth. Gautier says:

> Our forefathers felt the influence of Spring without being able to explain it scientifically. Also Easter is really the day of days. It was the first day of the year, the acme of the liturgical year, and all the traditions of the primitive Church were then fresh and living in the hearts of those rough Christians.

But as late as the twelfth century the ceremony was still more secular than ecclesiastical in character, although part of the ceremony was performed in the church.[15] Four sponsors were chosen by the young squire to assist in the ceremonies, of which one was his father, one a maternal uncle. Gautier says (*op. cit.*, p. 226):

> In our old epic poems which faithfully reflect the manners and customs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the solemn seasons of Easter and Whitsuntide seldom passed without witnessing the interesting ceremony of the creation of new knights.

Selden mentions the same custom in England in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries and cites many instances in support of it. Thus Henry I knighted Geoffrey of Anjou with five others at Whitsuntide in 1127, and Henry III knighted Alexander, third King

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 217 [15] L. Gautier, *op. cit.*, 248.

of Scotland and twenty others at Christmas in 1252.[16] Very often a number of squires were made knights by the same noble. Parents naturally preferred one of the greater nobles to act as the one to knight the boy, and the squire to be knighted

> indulged the wish to have his sword girt on by the king in a marble hall under the eyes of a thousand barons clothed in silver mail, in the presence of many hundreds of beautiful dames arrayed in silver and gold embroidery and the ceremony was otherwise imposing much more so than if it had taken place in their father's castle.

Great diversity prevailed in the ceremonialism connected with knighting, but generally speaking three methods are distinguishable: the essentially military, the secular with religious incidents, and the liturgical in which the bishop invested the knight.[17] The knighting of Geoffrey of Anjou is designated by Gautier as being of the military type. He says: "Notwithstanding the magnificence of the adornments, the splendor of the costumes, the duration of the festival, this mode of conferring knighthood had nothing complicated in its ceremonial. It was essentially putting on of vesture—no accolade, no sermon, not even the quintain.[18]

The secular ceremony with the religious phases developed gradually as the influence of the church grew. Of this type Selden says:

> The ceremony and circumstances at the giving this dignity [knighting] in the elder times were of two kinds especially which we may call courtly and sacred. The courtly were the feasts held at the creation, giving robes, arms, spurs and the like. The sacred are the holy devotions and what else was used in the church at or before the receiving of the dignity. Those of the first kind are various in the memories that preserve them and yet they were rarely or never without the girding with a sword [*op. cit.*, p. 639].

[16] John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (3d ed., 1672), pp. 640–41.

[17] L. Gautier, *op. cit.*, p. 236. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

With the religious transformation of knighthood into a nobility of social service, the initiation rites became filled with symbolism. The greatest innovation was the watching of the armor. Although a great diversity of practice prevailed both in England and on the Continent, the complete ceremonial cycle consisted of six parts: (1) the ceremonial bath; (2) the vigil of the armor; (3) Solemn Mass; (4) girding of the armor; (5) the accolade or colée; (6) tests of skill and endurance. Gautier holds that there was nothing of symbolism in the ceremonies before the thirteenth century.[19]

The ceremonial bath in some instances was taken before the vigil of arms, in others after it. In its origin, the bath was not symbolic but by the close of the twelfth century it had become so. Its significance lay in the fact that it was to symbolize the effacement of all villainies from the past life, and to cause purity. This bears a close analogy to the primitive idea of the sweat-bath and purification practiced in the puberty rites by many savage tribes.

The vigil of the arms took place in the church on the night before the adoubement. All those who were to be knighted the next day went to the church where the new weapons and armor were laid upon the altar. This was a long and wearisome vigil during which the candidates were not permitted to sit down but were obliged either to stand up or to kneel. The vigil lasted ten hours and was quite a physical ordeal of endurance, which was also intended to put the candidate into the proper frame of mind for the ceremonies of the following day. Again we are reminded of the similarity the practice bears to primitive customs. During the night, the candidates were to pray to all their patron saints and to make the solemn

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 248. See also, E. Prestage, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44.

vows which were to guide them throughout their life.[20] At dawn the priest came and chanted mass, the candidates partook of Holy Communion, the sword and arms on the altar were blessed by the priest and the candidate took an oath that he would use his weapons for the protection of the church, his country and the weak and helpless, and for maintenance of the ideals of chivalry. The oath which was used in Scotland ends thus: "And will ye promes to observe, keep, obey and fulfill all the premisses to the uttermost of your power, so help you God, be your owen hand and be God Himself?"[21] Of this oath Selden says: "That oath is but the substance which anciently was either sworn or profest by knights in most other countries also at their creation." Selden says that the offering of the sword with some of the rest of the sacred circumstances belonging to it was used also in the vigil held at Westminster and the Temple under Edward I of England.[22]

After breakfast, the gala dress for the ceremony was put on and the formal ceremonies were about to begin. Trumpets were sounded to announce the beginning of the ceremony.

A great orchestra of jongleurs raises a clamor. The sight is magnificent. The castle court seems alive with color. The women are in striking costumes, with their long hair, hanging braided on their

[20] E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. 112; L. Gautier, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 ff.

[21] J. Selden, *op. cit.*, pp. 703–04.

Form of oath used in Swethland: Ego, N, opto mihi ita Deum propitium et Beatam Virginem ac Sanctum Ericum quod volo juxta extremum meum posse per vitam et bona mea defendere fidem Catholicam et Sanctum Evangelium, et tenere ac protegere Ecclesiam et ejius ministros in sua libertate et imunitate et stare contra omne quod iniquum est, et conservare pacem et justitiam, et defendere puppilos, et orphanos, virgines, viduas et pauperes et seu fidelis et securus meo Regi et regno seu patriae meae et juste exhibere et exercere militarem statum ad honorem Dei secundum ultimum posse meum; sic me Deus adjuvet, et omnes Sancti ejius. Amen. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 648.

shoulders. The knights wear either bliauts, green, blue or red or hauberks of dazzling brightness. The numerous priests present have on their finest robes. Even the monks seem less somber in their habits. All is music, noise, animation.

In this setting the candidates advanced to a position beside their four sponsors and all descended the steps crossing the grass of the open space below. Upon the field below, a carpet had been thrown upon which the knighting was to take place. Each aspirant in turn was placed in the center of the carpeted space for the ceremony. One of the sponsors approached the candidate, who kneeling put the golden spurs upon the youth saying: "I trust that he will conduct himself in such fashion that his spurs may never be hacked off in shame and degradation." When this knight had stepped back, two other sponsors, also relatives and warriors with records of bravery stepped up to him and put on the white steel hauberk and the helmet adorned with semi-precious stones. These weapons, however, were only defensive armor. The fourth sponsor, who was often the father's suzerain, then presented the candidate with a sword, the offensive weapon. As the four sponsors stepped back, the orchestra of the jongleurs burst forth into music.[23] At this point the actual "dubbing" took place. The candidate bowed his head and the suzerain brought the full force of his fist down upon the neck of the youth. After this a salutation from the suzerain and the ceremony ended.

After the adoubement came the tests of skill and endurance in which the candidates gave public proof of their fitness and worthiness of the new honor. The horses were brought forth by the squires to the new knights, and the first and one of the most important tests was to see whether the candidate in armor could leap upon his horse

[23] L. Gautier, *op. cit.*, pp. 268–70.

unaided. This was no small feat, since the lightest weight armor weighed at least fifty-five pounds. This was one of the greatest tests of martial education and one that had to be taken with the utmost publicity. The accomplishment of this difficult feat caused bursts of applause. When the candidates were mounted, they were presented with an immense shield and lance eight feet long,[24] to be used for the next tests.

The tests on the tilting-ground were of three kinds. First, the eslais or gallop by which the knight showed his horsemanship. This was the most official performance. Second, the quintain by which he was to prove his skill with the lance. This took place in a large meadow where the ladies and their cavaliers had assembled to watch the performance. The quintain, as has been stated before, is a puppet placed on a post and made up of one or more hauberks and one or more shields. The shields were placed over the hauberks and at times to make it more difficult, several posts were thus dressed. At a given signal the attendants set the posts upright and the knight then charged, lance at rest, and struck the quintain as he passed it. If he could pierce the shield in one blow, through and through, and rip up the hauberk and scratch the post from the ground, he was rated very skilful indeed. The quintain was the supreme trial on which all chivalry depended. A successful bout at quintain was often enough to make a man's fortune. Since war was the normal condition and daily occupation, a man who could excel in the elements of this calling was most honored. The third test was the behourder or sham-fighting, to test the skill and agility on horseback in fencing and swordplaying. The knights engaged in pairs in this. Often those who had failed to cover themselves with

[24] L. Gautier, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

glory in the quintain, tried to regain their lost prestige in the combat. Around each pair of combatants a circle was formed while cries and applause resounded as the adversaries charged, turned, wheeled, and attacked each other. This is the last test through which the candidate must pass to prove his worth. After these jousts, a great feast was held in the seigneurial hall accompanied by much gaiety and laughter, at which the knights were the guests of honor. The youth was now of legal age and could do what he pleased in everything, enjoying all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of the social class of which he had become an active member.

The liturgical method was used in the latter centuries of the chivalric age when the church had gained great power and influence. The bishop now invested the knight and the ceremony took place in the church. All the acts of the ceremony became clothed with allegorical meaning. After the bath the candidate had to lie down upon a bed, because it was an emblem of the rest which God grants to his followers, the brave knights. The white shirt of the candidate was to show that he must keep his flesh from every stain if he would hope to reach heaven. His scarlet robe showed that he must be ready to pour out his blood for the Holy Church. His white girdle warned him that his soul must be stainless.[25]

The ceremonies connected with the knighting must have been powerfully moving. The formality and the solemnity of the occasion, and the brilliance of the gathering that witnessed the performance all contributed to its effectiveness. As the motive of Greek induction had been to train exclusively for citizenship, so the underlying purpose of the feudal age was to create a good warrior. But chivalric education and training was broader than

[25] E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

that, it included training for the pursuits of peace as well as war, although the training for war predominated. Feudal society in initiating its young men developed in them the proper attitude of approach to the ceremonies, leading to the attainment of their majority through the rite of watching the arms on the night before the formal ceremonies; this gave them the opportunity of meditating upon the significance of the step they were about to take. The feudal induction process bears an analogy, in some respects to other types: the emphasis upon the attitude of approach, the recognition for the necessity of preliminary training, the public recognition of the attainment of majority through a formal ceremony, a definite day set for the ceremonies, usually a day of great significance for the group. Thus Athens used the Dionysian festival, Rome the feast of the Liberalia, and Chivalry used the three great Christian festivals. The choice of a day commemorative of an important event in the life of the group is essential in creating an impressive ceremony. Days such as those mentioned above aid materially in producing the desired set of mind in both spectator and novice, in that the traditional association of the day with a definite experience in the group-life tends to predispose each individual to be impressed in the desired manner by the significance of the particular occasion through a strong appeal to group loyalty. The emphasis upon purification, upon fasting and spending the night before the ceremonies in watchfulness and meditation in a solemn place, and upon the separation of the candidate from the old milieu shows a resemblance to primitive practice. It may be noted, however, that there is no probation period following the ceremonies. This may be due to the fact that the candidate had in fact already reached manhood and that the training had been

sufficiently intensive and extensive, so that a period of probation was unnecessary.

These studies seem to point out, furthermore, that, where the full rights of society and of participation in public life are restricted to a particular group, there one will find a greater emphasis upon preparation and training for active membership in that group. The emphasis in these cases is not upon the fact that everyone shall have the same rights and responsibilities and the same standing in the community, but rather that those who are admitted within the restricted circle be properly trained and that both they and the other members of the group be properly impressed with the importance of the induction, using as one of the means for achieving this an impressive, formal ceremonial introduction of the young person into the privileges and responsibilities of active group membership. One further fact is deserving of mention at this point, and that is that where the social group is relatively small, a more complete response may be secured because the group exercises a more direct control over the individual. Therefore, if a ceremony is to be effective as well as impressive, the group must be small enough or powerful enough to vitalize its principles through a reasonable measure of control, and the problem here seems to be to find the mechanisms whereby this control may be exercised.

CHAPTER IV

CEREMONIALISM AND CIVIC TRAINING

Civic training is peculiar to no period or level of culture because it rests on the basic fact that the survival of any particular group and the perpetuation of its mores, ideals, and traditions depends upon the conscious transmission of these from generation to generation. It is conditioned by the concept of civic obligation. The qualities of good citizenship are those which are considered necessary for the performance of those functions which the group expects from its active members. Hence, in a relatively simple form of society or culture, where civic duties are few and well defined, it is not difficult to determine what outstanding qualities and capacities are necessary for the performance of the citizen's duty toward the state and the training and instruction can then be readily directed toward the development of those qualities and the acquisition of the essential capacities. To the primitive, civic obligation involved the ability to support a family, to be an intelligent, resourceful, and loyal tribesman and a courageous warrior. To the Greek, citizenship implied a direct and active co-operation in all the functions of the state, and the aim of Greek education was to make the boy conform to the type of citizenship which each Greek state held as its ideal. Thus the Spartan concept was predominantly military: Sparta was like a military camp and the boy was brought under military discipline at the age of seven and trained in the arts of war. The Athenian conception of civic obligation is contained in the *ephebic* oath which

was administered on the occasion of the initiation ceremony. The first part of it is military, relating to the obligation to protect and defend the country, the second part relates to the civic obligation of obedience to authority and adherence to the constitution and statutes of the state and the third part is religious, indicating the obligation to respect the religion of the state. The whole duty of a gentleman in the Middle Ages was included in the idea of chivalry and his life from early childhood was regulated by it. Here, too, as in Sparta, the dominant motive was the training of a warrior, and here again, the child was taken from the home at the age of seven and placed under the guidance of the lord who was to knight him when he came of age.

The training in these cases was very deliberate and direct, and in most cases, was immediately followed by the assumption of civic activity, so that the individual at once put into practice those skills which he had been taught, and to cultivate those traits which he had developed, and this, under the eye of a controlling public opinion. However greatly the concept of civic obligation may differ in the groups mentioned above, certain factors incident to the civic training are common to all of them. These are the recognition of the necessity of a direct civic training preliminary to entrance upon the responsibilities of active membership in the group; proof of the fitness of the candidate by a public testing; formal recognition of the attainment of majority through initiation rites and ceremonies; an emphasis upon the attitude of approach to the ceremonies; presence of prestige persons at the ceremonies; vocal asseverations of loyalty to the group, and the presence of control agencies to insist upon the maintenance of standards of performance of obligations to the state.

Among the characteristics of group life, three may be mentioned which have a direct bearing upon the ceremonial occasion and these are the sense of group entity, loyalty, and the fact of social control within the group. There is a conscious feeling on the part of the members of any group, of their oneness as against every other group; through this sense of individuality came differentiation into clans, gentes, moieties, phratries, classes. Moreover, this consciousness of group-individuality finds an outward expression in group symbols as an index of corporate entity. The symbols are of various sorts. They may be (1) a distinctive name by which the group is known; (2) insignia such as totem marks, scarifications, and mutilations such as knocked-out teeth, medicine bags among primitive people, and in higher levels of culture banners, flags, club colors, fraternity pins; (3) a distinctive manner of attire, which is worn for the first time by the novice upon his initiation into the group. One of the most significant and important features of the induction ceremony in all levels of culture and stages of civilization seems to be the investiture of the candidate with the insignia and regalia of full membership in the group. Thus the primitive may not wear the attire of a man until he has been ceremonially received into the ranks of the mature; in like manner, the Athenian *ephebi* might not wear their arms, nor the Roman *tiro* his *toga virilis,* nor the medieval knight his coat-of-arms or spurs, until each had been received into the active membership of the group by a well-recognized induction process. Modern applications of this principle are readily discoverable in the social and religious life of today.

Closely connected with the consciousness of entity is the feeling of loyality to the group. Recognition of communal responsibility is the great conservator of primi-

tive society. The prevalent attitude among primitives to regard the individual primarily as a representative of a group, rather than as an individual per se, obtrudes the idea of the community, i.e., the tribe, the clan, the gens, the phratry constantly on the consciousness of the individual, and through it he is forced to control his individualistic impulses and to undertake action that promotes the welfare of the group as a whole. Each grouping, whatever its size or type, has its body of ideals and traditions which are so inextricably interwoven in the group life, that it is not possible to separate the sense of loyalty to the group from loyalty to the traditions and concepts which make up the group pattern. These the group endeavors to perpetuate and preserve through ritual, ceremonies, and symbolism. Ceremonialism is one method of reviving in the group a lively sense of the past. It has been defined as a method of reinstating the excitements and sentiments which inspired an earlier collective action.[1] This explains one of the basic functions of the induction ceremonies. The prestige of custom affects the adolescent tremendously and ceremonials and ritual combine to mold his habits and feeling-attitudes. Thus also today, when an individual is initiated into a fraternal or a religious organization, he becomes impressed by means of ritual and ceremonies with the importance of the organization, with its ideals and purposes, and with the responsibility in becoming an active member of it.

Oaths, pledges of allegiance, and creeds occupy an important position in stimulating loyalty, and thus have a prominent place in induction ceremonialism. These are vocal asseverations of group loyalty and epitomized expressions of idealism and aspiration shared by all members of the group. Thus the oath is a significant element

[1] Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 790.

in the primitive initiation ceremonies; the ephebic oath of the Athenians has to this day so strong a patriotic appeal that it can be found in many textbooks on citizenship, as the finest example of an expression of patriotic loyalty. The administration of the oath of allegiance in the United States in the ceremony of naturalization has been characterized by many directors of Americanization work as the most impressive factor in the induction ceremony. The problem in connection with the oath and the pledge of allegiance has always been that of vitalizing it to mean more than a lip service. Various methods have been used for accomplishing this: the primitive uses fear and awe by threatening the individual with dire consequences, usually of a supernatural character, for any violation of it; the Ku Klux Klan uses the same fear psychology. Leaders of the Scout movement the world over use a better means of enforcing the oath, through a constant appeal to service and useful activity, picturing it constantly as an ideal of living, worthy of cultivation. President Coolidge recently expressed the idea that patriotism ultimately rests on an emotional appeal when he said that good citizenship is not so much a matter of knowing as of feeling.

Music is another potent instrument for stimulating a feeling of loyalty to the group. It is scarcely possible to overestimate the psychological value of patriotic songs which, in ideational content, are expressions of the more universal sentiments of love of country and of aspirations for its increased greatness, embodying in their words the traditions and idealism of the nation. The primitive recognized the potency of the rhythmic quality of music, which he heightened still further by a repetition of the same words in recurring phrases of music.

The third significant factor in group life is social con-

trol. This is attained through three principal agencies—ceremonialism, public opinion, and law.[2] Public opinion functions as a means for making the aims of ceremonialism effective. To the extent that the group is relatively small, public opinion may become directly effective through the active intervention of its membership in forcing the desired civic response from the individual in his relation to the group. Unless the impression made by ritual and ceremony be followed up by an insistence upon the maintenance of the prevailing standard, ceremonialism as a method of control is ineffectual. The first essential in an initiation ceremony is to impress, but the impression must be vitalized through setting up actual control agencies of which a well-directed public opinion is one of the strongest.

The problem of the ceremonial occasion involves a consideration of the mechanisms which contribute an effect that will produce a desired response in a given group. In an initiation ceremony, the problem must be approached from two angles: from the standpoint of the novice and from that of the group. The set of mind in which either attends a ceremonial occasion conditions the impression made. Let us consider the novice.

In addition to the impression made by the general mechanisms used to produce a particular set of mind in the audience, the novice is influenced by other specific factors, the most important of which are his preliminary instruction and training, his reverence for the past, and certain special mechanisms producing a state of expectancy and mental tension which the primitive uses to great effect. Indeed, he has progressed so far in this as to produce a mental state in the novice in which the real merges into the mystic and the unreal, until the one is in-

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 790.

distinguishable from the other. The most important devices are monotony and rhythmic movement, fasting, fatigue both physical and mental, suspense, and a dramatic representation of power. Fasting is an almost universal device. The church has always recommended it as a means of experiencing religious exaltation; the medieval knight was prepared for the ceremonial knighting by fasting, and it is also a common practice among savages. The Indian boy fasts and goes into seclusion until he sees a vision of his Manitou or Guardian Spirit; the African girl fasts during her puberty ceremonials, so also the Indian girl. Fatigue is another device used by the primitive very extensively. This he brings about through physical and mental exhaustion, induced by dancing, watching in suspense, shouting, flagellations, sweat-bathing, and purgations. Suspense is used more extensively as a device of modern groupings. A dramatic representation of power as used by the primitives is best illustrated by the physical appearance of the Duk-Duk spirit whom the youth has been taught to dread and fear and whom he sees for the first time during his initiation cycle. The presence of prestige persons today is an illustration of the same principle, except that dread and fear are supplanted by awe and respect.

Among the sources of suggestion, prestige is an important factor. Prestige may inhere in a person by reason of position, rank, or achievement, and it may inhere also in an occasion made significant in the life of the group through custom or tradition or history. Allport states that high self-expression in personality traits, physical strength, superior social position and prestige through power or knowledge, place their possessors in an ascendant relationship to those with whom they come in

contact thus giving their behavior a suggestive influence.[3] Subjects of monarchical countries enjoy a particular stimulation in the pomp and ceremony that surrounds royalty. The British king and court have been named as occupying an immeasurable place in the life and thought of the British people as a ceremonial agency and as a visible symbol of power and of national unity. Edward Jenks, in discussing the uses of the kingship, states that the king supplies the vital element of personal interest to the proceedings of government; that it is far easier to realize a person than an institution. The person of the king, queen, or some other member of the royal blood lends new significance to an occasion. Thus Gaus, in his study of English civic training, emphasizes the same fact when he states that, in the dramatization of civic life in Britain, the participation of royalty plays an important part enabling the average citizen to emerge from his mediocrity for the moment and vicariously to share in the greatness of his country through his citizenship under a king.

Prestige may inhere in a day as marking an occasion of particular significance in the life of the group, and such a day has often been used to enhance the impression of a ceremonial occasion. In the early days when a state religion figured largely in the national life, prestige days were usually days of religious observance. Thus the Athenian induction ceremony occurred on the occasion of the Dionysian festival, one of the greatest public events of the year and dedicated to the worship of Dionysius, as liberator of the land from the bondage of winter. The Roman youth was usually invested with the *toga virilis* and presented to the Roman people on the day of the feast of the Liberalia, probably dedicated to the wor-

[3] F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, p. 249.

ship of Liber. This day was important not only because of its religious significance, but also because on that day the army was called out, and thus this day of national significance was particularly appropriate for the induction ceremony because the "adolescens" would then enter upon his *tirocinium*. The ceremonial knighting, so Gautier tells us, often took place on one of the three great church festivals, Christmas, Easter, or Pentecost, on any of which there was certain to be a great audience and crowd of spectators. Of the three, Easter was the favorite, because "Our forefathers felt the influence of Spring without being able to explain it scientifically. . . . . Easter is really the day of days, the acme of the liturgical year, and all the traditions of the primitive church were ever fresh and living in the hearts of those rough Christians." Prestige days are used to as good effect today. Thus New York City has, for a number of years, used Independence Day as the time for the reception of those who have come into active citizenship within the year, either through the attainment of majority or through the naturalization process.

The integration of an audience today is more difficult than under the conditions described in the types of initiation which we have studied, since the groups tend to become larger and less homogeneous, both as to race and interest, and it is, therefore, more difficult to focus the attention and to produce a unity of feeling. The set of mind in which people gather to witness a performance partly determines their reactions to it, determining to some extent the pattern of perception and feeling, but an audience is also influenced by its immediate surroundings of which the physical configuration of the meeting-place is but a part; sights, sounds, smells, storied windows, dim light, music, decorations, the bustle of people,

the presence of prestige persons, crowded quarters, all make their contribution to the general effect. Associative tendencies must also be reckoned with, and this is particularly true in an initiation ceremony in which a lively sense of the past and of the ideals of the group is revived.

The mechanisms for producing mental fusion in an audience may be grouped for purposes of convenience under three heads, the setting for the ceremony, spatial factors, and group devices. From the primitive Australian Bushman, who uses the sunset hour for the most solemn portion of his ceremonial induction ritual, through the succeeding levels of culture down to our own time, the attainment of an impressive setting has been sought, because it appeals to the sensuousness, the lust for color and sound of the group. Here must come a consideration of the relative merits of an indoor and an outdoor setting, and here, too, the decorations are an important factor. This affords the opportunity for the generous display of flags, banners, colorful regalia, all those objects which emphasize group solidarity and stimulate group loyalty. The primitive exhibits his bull-roarer and other sacred paraphernalia, while the modern displays his flags and banners, and in the churches the cross figures prominently as the emblem of Christianity.

The matter of lighting effects is a very important factor in a ceremonial setting. The primitive understands the value of waning light in that much of the ceremonialism takes place at dusk or after. The medieval knight, too, performed a good part of his induction process in the subdued light of a church. A relative darkness promotes emotional contagion and also serves to focus the attention of the audience upon whatever light contrasts have been contrived to produce and accentuate a common impression upon the audience.

Among the spatial factors are the physical configuration of the meeting place and the seating-plan. The effect of spaciousness in an interior setting is a problem, as well as the presence of pillars, columns, and aisles which have been found to make social integration more difficult because of the tendency to separate portions of the audience from each other. The Griffith study, made at the University of Illinois several years ago, presented some interesting conclusions on this matter. The most interesting of these was that the degree of integration in an audience is not dependent primarily upon the distance of the individual from the performer but depends rather upon his position with reference to the group around him. It was found, moreover, that performance in the front rows is from 3 to 8 per cent less than in the middle of the room; that there is a difference of 10 per cent between the middle of the room and the last two rows, that if a group is removed from the main body of an audience by aisles or empty seats, their performance is on the average from 5 to 10 per cent lower than that of those in the main sections of the hall; that the size of the hall does not materially affect this situation; that the front seats are not good because they reveal too many details, such as the idiosyncrasies of the performer and illusory devices; that the individual in the periphery of a large gathering is apt to be restless and inattentive to what may be attracting the attention of the main group.[4]

The third set of mechanisms are the group devices. The use of official clappers scattered through the audience to promote emotional contagion is a well-known and old device. A relatively close crowding of people is another device, the efficacy of which was shown in the

[4] C. R. Griffith, "A Comment upon the Psychology of the Audience," *Psychological Monographs*, Vol. XXX, No. 136.

Griffith study quoted above. Wide separation between different units of an audience tends to produce mental isolation and the peculiarities of the individual become relatively more prominent. Concerted bodily movement produces a sense of unity in the individuals of a gathering, and tends to break up the feeling of personal isolation. A sense of fusion is particularly noticeable in those movements that have a rhythmic quality such as occurs in the ceremonial dancing of the primitive peoples and in their chanting to the montonous throb of drums. It is upon this means of inducing mental fusion that ritualistic bodies of today rely, whether churches, lodges, or other social groupings.

Deliberate civic training today is difficult because we cannot agree on the essential traits of good citizenship; indeed, the concept of civic virtue varies from the wielding of a toothbrush to dying for one's country. The fact of what constitutes a good citizen has vexed at least the philosopher in every stage of civilization since the days long before Aristotle made the important observation that civic goodness and moral virtue are not synonymous. The primitive induction process was at once a formal admission into the religious, social, and civic life of the group because of the general lack of differentiation of activities in primitive life, but in our day the complexity of a rapidly evolving social structure has brought about an elaborate differentiation of activities, and this has had two outstanding effects upon our concept of civic obligation: it has made a definition of civic virtues extremely difficult and it has resulted in the rise of groupings organized to cultivate the religious, social, economic, political, and civic interests and to supply the necessary coercive power within the group to insure the maintenance

of standards of performance without which ceremonialism cannot be effective.

The types of civic initiations studied above reveal the fact that deliberate and effective civic training can proceed only where civic traits have been definitely determined either by custom, tradition, or established authority, and this is most possible where social organization is relatively simple and where the activities of citizenship are few and clearly recognizable. The only alternative to this in a more complex social organization would be the arbitrary determination by some recognized authority of what shall be regarded as traits of good citizenship.

The most consciously deliberate and systematic effort to produce good citizens according to a preconceived pattern is probably to be found in Russia today and among the Fascisti of Italy. Here the deliberate effort to build up a new type of citizenship has brought about a return to a directive civic training of adolescents and to a formal induction ceremony by an established public authority, which, if it is not coextensive with the state, is nevertheless the authoritative power of the moment in the state. Mussolini has made extensive use of initiation ceremonialism in connection with the induction of new members into the Fascist party, and the prestige of tradition and place has aided him materially in producing a dramatic appeal to patriotism by the infusion of a lively sense of the past greatness of Rome in the minds of the citizenry. An impressive initiation ceremony took place in all the principal centers of Italy, at which some 80,000 youths were graduated from the *Avanguardisti* into the ranks of the Black Shirts, on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the founding of Fascismo, on March 25, 1928. An analysis of this ceremony, held at Rome and taken from an ac-

count reported by the Associated Press, will illustrate how closely modern ceremonialism adheres to primitive methods and devices used in other levels of culture.

Here in Rome the ceremony occurred in the famous Piazza del Popolo, from which through the nearby city-gate Rome's conquering legions wended their way northward nearly 2,000 years ago. More than 25,000 Avanguardisti youths and chubby youngsters of from eight years old onward, belonging to the Balilli literally choked the square. . . . . They tore their lungs in the Fascist yell when Premier Mussolini appeared before them. Contrary to expectations, the Duce made no speech to them, but he listened as they took the Fascist oath and then reviewed their phalanxes as they passed before him while the bands played "Giovinezza," the Fascist hymn of youth. . . . . The city was bountifully decorated with national flags and the Fascist emblem of lictors' rods bound round an ax.

From this account the following facts stand out:

Prestige Day:

Ninth Anniversary of the founding of Fascismo

Prestige Place:

Piazza del Popolo, from which through the nearby city gate, Rome's legions wended their way northward during the period of its greatness

Prestige Person:

Benito Mussolini, Il Duce

Decorations:

National flags, the ancient Roman fasces, symbol of power which is the Fascist emblem. All public buildings were illuminated in celebration of the anniversary occasion

Music:

Bands played the "Giovinezza," the Fascist Hymn of Youth

Ceremonial Parade:

The *Avanguardisti* youth were reviewed in phalanxes by the Duce while the bands played the Fascist Hymn of Youth

Group Symbol:

The Roman fasces, which were carried by Roman magistrates in ancient times, as a badge of authority

Regalia:

Badge, musket, and black shirt

Ceremonial Investiture:

The party badge and musket were solemnly bestowed upon every youth at colorful ceremonies

Oath of Loyalty:

The oath was given to the new members of the party who had reached their eighteenth year:

I swear to execute the orders of the Duce without discussion and serve with all my force, if need be with my blood, the cause of the Fascist revolution.

The persistence of ceremonialism in the life of a community and its widespread use by all sorts of groups in the national life indicates some useful function performed. It has survived because, aside from its function of perpetuating and transmitting mores and traditions, it ministers to definite needs in man. Since fundamentally human nature remains unchanged, all ceremonialism with a like purpose must contain elements that are identical because they are traceable to the psychological traits which characterize men as individuals and to those which control their behavior as members of a group.

Ceremonialism makes an appeal primarily to the emotions and is a mechanism for arousing the spirit of loyalty in the members of a group. Elementally, man's loyalties are based on emotion and feeling rather than upon intellect and reason; elementally, man does not rationalize about his patriotism, he feels it. Now the things which reach the emotions most readily are those factors in man's daily life around which the traditions and ideals of his group revolve, and those other elements which society has taught him most to honor and value. Ceremonialism, moreover, appeals to the innate love of drama, color, mystery, pomp, and circumstance in man, all make a tremendous appeal to the imagination; it satisfies the urge to emphasize and advertise group entity; it affords a vicarious enjoyment of greatness to the individual, in the con-

templation of regal pageantry which, in monarchical governments, is supplied by the person of the king and his family; in democracies is afforded by the ritual and ceremonies of social, religious, and other groupings, which rescue the conventional citizen from his mediocrity and give him the bit of flare which democratic simplicity has denied to him.

Induction ceremonialism has been an important part of civic training in the past and still persists in the initiation process among all sorts of groups, such as the churches, fraternal organizations of every description, and organizations engaged in the civic training of adolescents such as the Scouts, Girl Guides, the Balilli and Avanguardisti of Italy, and the Communist Youth of Russia. The initiation ceremony is useful because it is an act of integration in which the formal assimilation of the individual into the group is accomplished, because it affords an opportunity to emphasize the obligations of the group to its young people and is a manifestation of community interest in its new citizens, because it gives the young person the opportunity to take a definite public stand in an impressive setting of a special occasion which belongs peculiarly to him, thus creating the feeling that a public pledge of allegiance to the principles cherished by his group necessitates the maintenance of a definite standard on the part of each.

The place and value of ritual in a ceremony has often been questioned. The adequacy of outworn formulas to meet the constantly changing needs of a rapidly evolving society meets with frequent challenge. The basis of ritual lies in custom, and its chief end is to preserve the traditions and mores of the past. Since the function of ritual is to preserve traditional viewpoints, it is generally inflexible so far as adaptibility to change is concerned, and it is, therefore, just as apt to perpetuate the outworn for-

mula as the ever applicable ideal which is really worthy of transmission. Where social organization remains relatively stationary, as in the culture of primitive tribes, ritual will continue to be effective for a longer period of time than is the case in a rapidly changing order of things. There is danger, too, that the constant repetition of ritualistic forms may make their performance automatic, perfunctory, and unimpressive; this is in fact so in the case of the national anthem, the frequent repetition of creeds both civic and religious, and other ritualistic recitals today, but the primitive here again is guarded because of the feeling of awe and reverence with which he is inspired to approach the ritual of his group. This is true also in the other induction types studied.

Ritualistic ceremonialism, however, also has elements of strength. If it serves to keep alive traditions, it will preserve the best as well as the worst, and the perpetuation of ideals and traditions is necessary to insure group continuity and to foster that loyalty which we call patriotism; to the extent that traditions are worthy of transmission, not only as to idealism and as representations of worthy achievements but also from the standpoint of relevancy to present requirements and standards, they are effective mechanisms for producing patriotism. In defense of initiation ceremonies it can be added that these do not occur with a frequency sufficient to cause their performance to become meaningless through repetition, and in the second place, the importance of the occasion invests the ritual and ceremonial with an added significance which produces the set of mind necessary to counteract the monotony of repetition and to make the event an impressive one. Thus the initiation ceremony marks the consummation of the induction process and the natural climax to a period of formal civic training.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

A review of the evidence amassed in the preceding pages shows that several criteria may be relied upon to draw useful distinctions among the various processes of induction into citizenship. The Spartans managed the transition from youthful apprenticeship to adult citizenship by degrees; the Athenians accentuated the passage with a ceremonious initiation. Classified according to the severity of the demands imposed upon the initiates or the apprentices, induction practices fall within a range extending from the strenuous and exacting to the light and formal. A little learning and an oath may naturalize an alien in the United States, but streams of blood alone suffice to induct the young Dieri into the exalted status of citizenship. Severe physical hardship and relentless regimentation characterized the training of the Spartan youth, who had to undergo no special initiation; minor physical strains and a minimum of gross interference are the lot of the modern youth, who likewise undergoes no initiation into citizenship. Most of the Australian initiations are conducted in the name of the community as a whole, but in New Pomerania the secret Duk-Duk Society has a practical monopoly of this function. The training of the Spartan youth was conducted by the community, but the training of the Roman was a family matter.

These differences may be recapitulated thus:

TYPES OF INDUCTION INTO CITIZENSHIP

A. According to Nature of the Transition
   1. Gradual
   2. Abrupt (with Initiation)

B. According to Demands Imposed upon Initiates or Apprentices
   1. Formalistic
   2. Exacting
C. According to Inclusiveness of Training or Initiating Organization
   1. Community-wide
   2. Sub-association

This in no wise exhausts the schemes of classification which may be set up to differentiate systems of training and initiation. Initiations may transpire in the presence of a concourse of people as they do in Australia, or they may be conducted in isolation, as when the young Crow Indian pursues the quest for his Guardian Spirit in private. Distinctions may be drawn according to the one who takes the lead, the time consumed, and so on, almost without end. Some order may be introduced by accepting the division of the ceremonial cycles of initiation in certain areas into four phases: (1) the act of separation, (2) the period of instruction and training, (3) a series of tests, and (4) probation.

Our data is far too fragmentary to permit of generalizations about the relative efficiency of the gradual and the abrupt types of induction into citizenship. However, some suggestions have been hazarded to account for the presence of the severe rather than the light initiation. Since Australian natives lived in an environment which exposed them to periodic deprivations, it seems an obvious inference that their formidable initiation tests were designed to eliminate all who were unfit to survive under such inhospitable conditions. But it is treacherous to argue that the existence of an effect proves the nature of the originating intention. Several alternative hypotheses are no less plausible. Rigorous military tests may in some cases be due to the existence of prolonged threats to the

independence of the tribe, and to the resulting premium upon the arts of defense. Again, it may be true that a powerful psychopathic personality occupied a key position in a tribe at one time, and that his sadistic impulses found expression in bloody rituals of initiation which survived because of his prestige.

The present data do not permit of generalization in respect to the genetic connection between special and general types of initiation. Hambly argues in the volume previously alluded to that tribal initiations are an extension of special tests for chiefs, witch doctors, and priestesses. He takes up the radical diffusionist position associated with the name of Elliott Smith and finds an Egyptian origin for the entire phenomenon of initiation, wherever it is found.

> Initiation of medicine men, members of a secret society, sons of chiefs, likewise tribal initiation of boys and girls, all show the same fundamental procedure of transfer of power from elders to novices, hereditary requirements, silence restrictions, hardships, direct instruction, search, and new social status. Such points connect all forms of initiation with ceremonies practiced during the acquisition of power by the priest-kings of Egypt. Physical suffering common to all initiation is possibly a modification of sacrifice and death of the King.[1]

This conclusion rests upon presuppositions in the comparison of data which are utterly rejected by the American school of anthropology, led by Franz Boas. To them the Egyptian hypothesis is little short of preposterous. In these circumstances the only possible resort is to the painstaking investigation of additional data.

The previous chapters have cast some light on the factors which account for the presence or absence of vigorous systems of communal initiation. This is a point of very special interest, since it is sometimes said that mod-

[1] W. D. Hambly, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples*, p. 400.

ern society ought to adopt a complicated and exacting ritualism to mark the attainment of adulthood by the rising generation. Whenever any measure of social change is proposed, the assessment of its probable cost is in order. And cost means in this context the amount of social energy which would probably have to be expended to bring about the indispensable antecedents of the proposed pattern of adjustment. Is it possible that the conditions necessary for the existence of exacting universal initiations into the citizenship are missing from modern society, and that they cannot be restored without an impractical outlay of energy?

The cases assembled in this book seem to show that an initiation which is something more than a bare formality presupposes a homogenous citizenship ideal. Every Athenian was supposed to devote himself to the public life. The careers of the trader, manufacturer, banker, speculator, experimentalist, with all their diverse requirements, lay beyond his range. The bloodletting of the Mandan may have tested the qualities valuable on the warpath or on the hunt, but it is utterly unsuitable in a civilization where the division of labor has produced a diversity of activities in which physical exertions play a very subordinate rôle. Where the life of the good citizen falls within the straightened grooves of a homogeneous and simple pattern, tests can be invented to sift the competent from the cowardly, feeble, and clumsy. There is enough in common among the practitioners of medicine or law in modern society to render a single set of examinations feasible for each profession, and these might conceivably be administered with dignity. But this scarcely holds for the entire community.

The citizenship ideal may be homogenous, but unless it admits of ready externalization on a level which is

capable of easy understanding throughout the whole culture, exacting initiations are scarcely possible. Physical combat according to traditional rules can be understood by unnumbered masses, but tests of anything beyond physical prowess and oratory are difficult to imagine. Precisely those qualities which are most prized by the select circles of modern life, such as fertility of ideas, cooperativeness in committees, rigor in experimental method, are the ones which defy externalization. Red fire and rank smells may have popularized chemistry among the laity, but the capacity for making flames or stenches is a poor standard test for a good chemist.

Exacting communal initiations have always presupposed a common set of religio-magical attitudes. It is, or ought to be, a commonplace that the functions performed by a trait are capable of being understood in their entirety only in the context of the specific culture in which the trait is lodged. Thus the complex of patterns called an initiation among the Crows is not adequately described by the statement that it is a public proclamation that henceforth certain youths will be considered men. It is a religious and magical act in which the future of the initiate and of the tribe is implicated. If the ceremonies of induction are not properly performed, the young Crow is launched into the hazardous business of fighting and hunting without the assistance of a protecting spirit, and the community itself may reap disastrous consequences from any failure to conduct matters in due form.

Obviously modern society lacks unanimity of religio-magical conviction. So many traditions have come into contact that accommodation, though not assimilation, has come to pass. Western European politics have been secularized in consequence of historic conflicts generated

about clashing religious and secular pretensions. Skeptical and agnostic attitudes have added to the confusion. Even those who argue for the importance of undemonstrable convictions and dramatic ceremonies do so with a rational, critical style of sophistication which is far from the fervent zeal of the simple believer. The professor in one of Willa Cather's novels gave full expression to this instrumental detachment when he addressed his class in these words:

> I don't think you help people by making their conduct of no importance—you impoverish them. As long as every man and woman who crowded into the cathedrals on Easter Sunday was a principal in a georgous drama with God, glittering angels on one side and the shadows of evil coming and going on the other, life was a rich thing. The king and the beggar had the same chance at miracles and great temptations and revelations. And that's what makes men happy, believing in the mystery and importance of their own little individual lives. It makes us happy to surround our creature needs and bodily instincts with as much pomp and circumstance as possible. Art and religion (and they are the same thing in the end, of course) have given man the only happiness he has ever had.

Perhaps modern life has diminished man's dependence on magic by thrusting the primary perils of existence into the background. Where risk is great, magic abounds. The essence of magic is a procedure intended to accomplish a specific end of which the immediate steps are unknown, and presumably incapable of being known. When one magic rite fails, it is discredited, discarded, and supplanted. Magic is thus highly instrumental and practical, and as such was the precursor of science. Charms and rites among the primitive are supposed to control uncertain yields from the fields, uncertain results from the chase, unpredictable outcomes of raiding parties, undefendable attacks from beasts of water and land. To refer to the perils of primitive life is not to re-

vive the naïve picture of the naked savage cowering in his cave, but to stress a quantitative difference in the cruder hazards of existence, which helps to explain how magic mattered more to his élite than to ours.

Without spinning out the discussion to much greater length, a special factor may be adduced to explain why initiations are almost wholly absent from modern democracies. Citizenship is a universal and automatic status under democracy which is thrust upon one at birth and not achieved by exertion. At first sight it appears strange that democracy did not immediately exalt the transition from youth to the full responsibilities of maturity, stressing the opportunities for political service lying at hand. No doubt the fact that citizenship was generalized of a sudden had not a little to do with it, since exacting ceremonials are not easy to improvise out of hand for large numbers. Perhaps the negativistic nature of the democratic movement furnished the decisive clue. Democracy was busy abolishing restrictions, restrictions on equality before the courts, restrictions on eligibility for office, restrictions on suffrage qualifications, and above all abolishing ceremonials of an outworn order. The positive and affirmative phase of democracy set in slowly and tentatively afterward.

Strenuous initiations would seem to depend, then, on a homogeneous ideal of citizenship which is capable of ready externalization, upon unanimity of religio-magical convictions, and upon a political ideal whose program is vigorously positive. No doubt modern democratic states could accomplish something toward heightening the significance of citizenship by taking over certain existing occasions and assigning an official status to them. More could be done at graduation than is now customary, and a ceremony of some dignity could be devised for the

annual crop of new voters. But such contrivances scarcely tap the root of the matter. At least two modern dictatorships, which rest upon the *de facto* monopoly of power by a disciplined group which though numerically large is relatively small, have realized many of the conditions necessary for the creation of initiations that spell much in the lives of the neophytes and the community. In particular, they have kindled the flames of devotion to a cause, thus supplying that unanimity of religio-magical sentiment without which an initiation is a rather perfunctory mummery. Whether the fires of democratic enthusiasm have been tamped for all time, or whether the growing threats to the supremacy of the democratic ideal will precipitate a rebirth of passion for active citizenship, is beyond present calculations. And it remains to be seen whether dictatorial groups can universalize themselves and still retain their rigorous induction into citizenship.

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